The Ancient Celtic Church of Wales.

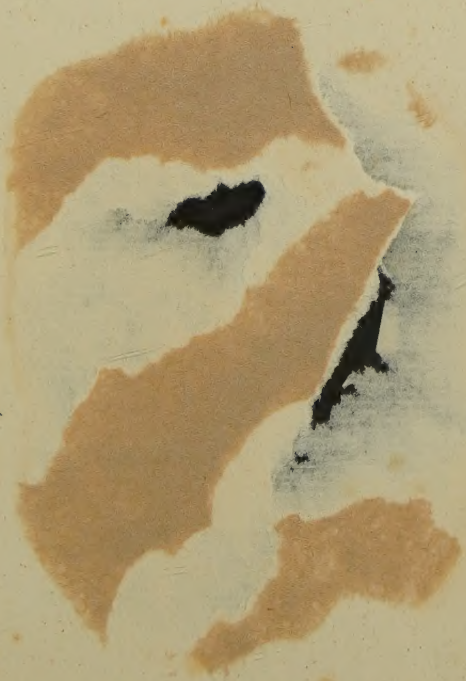
BY
Rev. DAVID DAVIES
PENARTH.

Enlarged Edition.

2/6 net.

23482

Griffith
1917



D286a
1910

23482

THE ANCIENT CELTIC CHURCH OF WALES:

WHERE IS IT?

BY

Rev DAVID DAVIES,

PENARTH, CARDIFF,

Author of "Echoes from the Welsh Hills"; "John Vaughan, or More Echoes from the Welsh Hills"; "Vavasor Powell, the Welsh Evangelist of the Seventeenth Century"; &c., &c.

> "For some reason, probably because it is far easier to use general language in historical matters than to condescend to particulars, the defenders of the Establishment are allowed to apply and misapply history as they think fit, and the Celtic Church is forgotten or ignored."—J. W. WILLIS BUND,
>
> "The Celtic Church of Wales," 1907, p. 515.

FIFTH THOUSAND. NEW EDITION. GREATLY ENLARGED.

Containing Replies to Criticisms.

THE MASTER'S COLLEGE
POWELL LIBRARY
SANTA CLARITA, CA 91321

LONDON:
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT, & CO., LTD.
32, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.
1910.

AMBASSADOR COLLEGE LIBRARY.
Bricket Wood,
St. Albans, Herts.

Z74.29 Wales - Church history
DAV Celtic Church

THIS BOOK
IS LOVINGLY DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY
OF
MY FATHER,
WHO,
DURING A LONG LIFE,
STRENUOUSLY FOUGHT THE BATTLE
OF
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM,
AND
INSPIRED ME
TO DO LIKEWISE.

CONTENTS.

Dedication ... ... iii.

Errata ... ... v.

Preface to First Edition... ... ... vi.

Preface to Fifth Thousand... 1

Chapter I.—The Ancient Celtic Church of Wales: Its Origin and Early Characteristics... ... 11

,, II.—Wales and the Ancient Celtic Church: Their United and Strenuous Struggle for Existence, ending in Defeat 40

,, III.—The Ancient Celtic Church of Wales from the Conquest to the Reformation 61

,, IV.—The English Church in Wales from the Reformation till 1850 91

,, V.—The English Church in Wales from 1850 until now 141

,, VI.—Present Facts and Considerations 186

,, VII.—Conclusion 196

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Llandrindod and Cefnllys Churches, facing 180-181pp.

ERRATA.

Page 24. First Marginal Note, read "Ricemarch" for "Ricemarsh."
,, 32. Second Marginal Note should be opposite Footnote.
,, 33, 47, & 38. Read "Henry I." for "Henry II."
,, 34. Sixth line from bottom read "substitution" for "substitute."
,, 53. Sixteenth line, and last line but one, read "selected" for "elected," as in Marginal Note.
,, 74. Fourth line from bottom, read "talking" for "talk."
,, 101. Footnote, read "civil" for "cure."
,, 169. Eighth line, read "might" for "may."
,, 215. Third line, read "as" for "of."
,, 217 Fourth line, insert — after "parish."

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THERE is so much ignorance about The Ancient Celtic Church of Wales, and so much unscrupulous misrepresentation prevalent about the relationship said to exist between the present Established Church in Wales and that Old Celtic Church, that I have been induced to write this book upon the subject. As I have shewn, the case for Disestablishment in Wales is unique. It has but little in common with that for Disestablishment in England.

The anomaly of the existence of the present Established Church in Wales is little realized outside the Principality, although the Welsh nation are keenly conscious of it. The Church in Wales has no manner of continuity or relationship with the ancient Welsh Church, except in the possession of its endowments.

It is the Church of the rich and of the few. It always has been, and still is, out of touch with the Welsh-speaking population of the land. It has been, and still is, a proselytizing Church, and has persistently used the power of the purse, and the educational system prevalent for many decades in Wales, to compel the children of Nonconformists to learn the Catechism in the National Schools, to attend Church on Sunday, and to be confirmed by the Bishop.

I, myself, in the sixties, was a pupil teacher in Glyntaff Schools, Treforest. Constant pressure was brought upon me, and other Nonconformist children, to attend Church. Ultimately, after two and a half years of service, the ultimatum was given me that, unless I went to Church, I must cease to be a teacher. I did not go to Church, and accepted the penalty. This is a typical case. The Log Books of those Schools, still existing, are interesting reading with regard to the repeated objections of Nonconformist parents to having the Church Catechism taught their children.

I well remember the bitter disappointment when, at the bidding of a bigoted clergyman, my youthful ambition was thwarted, and the whole course of my life was apparently diverted. The iron went into my soul, and it is not surprising if some entered my blood. There are hundreds in Wales who have had a similarly bitter experience; and, to the Welsh nation, it appears preposterous that a Church which, as I have proved by incontrovertible evidence, is, of all Churches, the least in sympathy with our national aspirations, and is the most remote from the Ancient Celtic Church, in spirit and polity, should be upheld by the State in its anti-national and proselytizing policy.

My authorities throughout this book, with scarcely an exception, have been either historical documents, or historians who are Churchmen and Conservatives.

Bronwydd,
Victoria Avenue,
Penarth, Cardiff.
March 16, 1910.

DAVID DAVIES.

PREFACE TO THE FIFTH THOUSAND:

NEW AND ENLARGED EDITION.

THE ready welcome and wide circulation given to my smaller work on "The Celtic Church of Wales: Where is it?" as well as the appreciative Reviews which it has called forth, not only from sympathetic reviewers, but even from many opponents, have been most gratifying.

For the sake of brevity, I condensed my former book into the smallest possible proportions without, as I thought, affecting the argument I desired to enforce. I was also anxious not to introduce any facts which would *unnecessarily* reflect upon the present Church in Wales. Those discreditable facts which were given were supplied only so far as they were required to give force to the argument. Notwithstanding this, they were sufficiently striking and numerous to surprise a large number of readers, among them conscientious adherents of the Established Church. Another class of Churchmen, however, thought them comparatively few, and, after all, not very discreditable, and, with a few insignificant exceptions, not modern instances. They also implied that the quotations from my authorities were brief, and, as such, they suggested that the context was ignored. All this I contend was utterly untrue with regard to my earlier volume; but as those critics have desired more, I have sought to meet their wishes. I now venture to think that the facts I state, and the authorities I supply, will more than satisfy those who found it convenient to say that my former book was lacking in proof. I shall be surprised if they will not wish that they had let matters alone.

My friends, too, who knew that I had far more material by me than I had published, urged me in the face of these suggestions, accompanied by premonitions of crushing replies in newspaper paragraphs and correspondence, to publish my facts more fully, and to press my argument to its full and ultimate issue.

At length those terrible warnings of rejoinders which would annihilate my former book seem to have been fulfilled, for quite recently two replies have appeared—one as a penny pamphlet, and the other as a shilling book. The latter has, however, practically appropriated and absorbed the former. The pamphlet is issued by Rev. Griffith Thomas, Church Defence Lecturer in the Diocese of St. David's and Llandaff, while the book is written by Mr. W. J. Waterhouse, author of a pamphlet already published on the Earlier History of the Church in Wales, and Mr. W. J. Maddocks, who, in the past, amid the diverting activities of a strenuous calling, has, on the one hand, with unceasing energy and assiduity, castigated his fellow-Churchmen of different schools from his own at diocesan conferences and elsewhere, and, on the other, has been the local and self-constituted defender of the Church against all-comers. From him no one would expect dignified, still less scholarly, criticism.

From Mr. Waterhouse, however, one would have expected at least a cultured and well-balanced critique; but to one's amazement one finds his name appended to a coarse, not to say vulgar, attack. In addition to the short shrift given by Mr. Waterhouse and his colleague to Drs. Hatch and Hort whose conclusions, they simply say, "we are unable to accept for reasons which appear to us sufficient," they affirm that Professor Gwatkin's "animus is quite open and undisguised," and accuse him of "uttering something very like an

impertinence" when he speaks of the "uncertain methods and unhistorical dogmas of the Tractarians," adding that this "is not history, but polemic." They further say that "he will be liberally extolled by many controversialists who had never heard either of the man or of his work, until they were made acquainted with the fact that both could be usefully paraded for partizan purposes." They, moreover, accuse Mr. Bund of attempting "to induce facts to fit" his theory, "partly by forced construction, and partly by omitting and rejecting all the evidence which makes against his view." They also add that "no scholar with a reputation to lose" has accepted Mr. Bund's interpretation. Imagine Mr. Maddocks talking about scholars with a reputation to lose, to a scholar like Mr. Bund, when assuring him that his interpretation is universally repudiated by such, and then speaking of Mr. Bund's great work on "The Celtic Church of Wales as having "died a natural death"! (pp. x-xiii, 72, 73, 149.)

After all this it is little wonder that in the Index (without any collateral passage in the body of the book), Dr. Clifford is labelled as "a Demagogue," and I am described as "a modern Theudas (see Acts v. 36-39)," and as one of the "flies" which "eagles (namely the bishops) do not catch," but which presumably these authors do for them. This is followed by the charge of my having written "an open and unabashed lie" because I have spoken of the Church as being "subsidized by the State," and, moreover, as having given "sham history, sham figures, &c." All this is supplemented by charges of "pure nonsense," "a scandalous trick," "abject absurdity," "rant," "cant," and the crowning assurance that the bishops are not given to "fishing in the gutter." All this is supposed to compensate for the absence of any effective disproof of my statements!

This kind of language is, I fear, what I should have expected from Mr. Maddocks, but one would have been justified in expecting something better from Mr. Waterhouse. This is not the literary style one would look for in the productions of one who aspires to be an author, and, above all, to be a Church Historian!

The book for the greater part consists of *ex cathedra* statements and the usual fallacies, most of which I have already anticipated in this work. The first seven and the ninth chapters are given to the treatment of: (i) "The Christian Ministry"; (ii) "The Faith of the Church"; (iii) "The Early British Church"; (iv) "The Coming of Augustine and the Approximation of the English and British Churches"; (v) "The Church in Wales To-day"; (vi) "The Reformation"; (vii) "A vindication of Anglican Orders"; . . . (ix) "Church and Dissent." Only one chapter, namely, the eighth, is entirely devoted to the reply of my book. The order and treatment adopted will strike any observant reader as peculiarly unmethodical. Even the able Reviewer of the "Western Mail," the Conservative daily paper for Wales, evidently felt this when he said: "It is doubtful whether the arrangement of the volume is the best that might have been devised." All the book—with the exception of the preface, the eighth chapter, and very small portions of the third and fourth chapters—has the appearance of having been written quite apart from any thought of my book, and the eighth chapter and occasional paragraphs of the fourth of having, in the eleventh hour, been tacked on as the result of what is described by the authors in the preface as "a chance correspondence" which "brought us together." The result is a patchwork which sadly lacks unity and coherence.

It seems evident that the bulk of the book was written as a Church Text Book from the so-called " Catholic " or High Church standpoint. The difference of tone in dealing with Romanists from that adopted in dealing with Nonconformists is very marked. The authors' attitude toward Rome is generally apologetic, and at times cringing, while their references to the Free Churches of this land are singularly bitter and abusive. Their reference to their theology is significant :—" Our theology we humbly and reservedly submit to the judgment of that One Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, of which it is our highest privilege to be members" (p. xv). While the supremacy of the Pope and that which is " specially Roman " in comparatively recent accretions, are repudiated as the things which have involved the Church of Rome in the " sin of schism," there is here a pathetic clinging to that Church, as it was when it oppressed and slew the Celtic Church of Wales under the Norman Kings and the Romish Archbishops of Canterbury. The authors represent an increasing body in the Established Church who seek to bring it down to the level of the sacerdotalism and traditionalism of the middle ages, to which is given the plausible name of " Catholic." This movement has been largely successful. It is this danger that has to be faced by Protestant England, and in this struggle the Free Churches are those upon which the nation can rely.

The authors repeatedly have recourse to the convenient resort of calling every ancient authority spurious if the facts stated upset their theory. This is in spite of the fact that for other purposes they quote with confidence the same authority. My opponents cannot blow hot and cold just to suit their own little preferences.

Then again, they seem to be oblivious of one of the most elementary principles in debate. I quote in my earlier work, as I do in this, from the speech of Mr. (afterwards Judge) Watkin Williams, in the House of Commons, and the letter of Dean Edwards to Mr. Gladstone, in which certain statements and admissions are made by them, as Churchmen, which endorse a particular assertion of mine ; whereupon my opponents hold me responsible for *all* that those Churchmen said in that particular speech or letter (pp. 114, 120). It follows that whenever I quote from a Churchman a certain admission which strengthens my case, according to that principle of debate, I hold myself responsible for *all his assertions* on that occasion, although it has no bearing on the question. This would put an end for ever to quotations from all authors, especially when, as in my case, I purposely give Churchmen as my authorities on certain questions where the admissions they make confirm my position.

Not only so, but I am held in some instances responsible for all that they have ever said. For instance, I quote from Mr. Bund : " There is nothing so near the old Welsh religious system as Nonconformity." This is in p. 510 of his work. Whereupon my critics go to page 18, where Mr. Bund states : " Celtic custom is often opposed to modern ideas, both of morality and propriety," and they bring together these two statements in order to shew that it is distinctly discreditable to be like the Celtic Church. One would like to know whether the ancient customs of any people, the Saxons included (of which Messrs. Waterhouse and Maddocks are descendants, presumably) are not " opposed to modern ideas." Other quotations are given from Mr. Bund, especially that based upon an old legend of Scuthen. Mr. Bund would be the first to admit that it is unsafe to generalize concerning the traits of any ancient people on the authority of legends ; but even if this legend is at all true, it emphasizes one fact, namely, that the morality of Scuthen the Celt successfully stood the test, which was far too much for Brendan the Latin Saint ; as Brendan

was the first to admit. But all this is poor stuff with which to pack up an argument. Here, as elsewhere, my antagonists only shew that bias against the Welsh people which their Church has shewn throughout the centuries. It is true that they "disclaim the slightest responsibility for Mr. Bund's dicta," but they repeat them with such a relish, and put such forced construction upon them, as to prove that the task is most congenial and gratifying to them (pp. 146-148).

But this is not all. They utterly misrepresent Mr. Bund and convey a glaringly false impression. They say (p.147): "Mr. Bund further holds that the old Welsh Church had no 'Saints' in the ordinary sense of the word: its Saints were not saintly, but shared all the vices of the people, and were representatives of Welsh weaknesses and prejudices. . . Mr. Bund appears to hold that 'the English Church at present established in Wales' is too strict for the Welsh people, for he holds that the time when it gained influence was a time of relaxed discipline, when the Anglican priest was 'a man on the same level as the farmer, and the horse-dealer, and was not afraid to sit and drink with them.'"

This latter quotation, following in the train of such a sinister suggestion, comes with a strange irony from one of Mr. Maddocks' views. Surely, in his estimation, such a habit would have much in its favour. But will it be believed that the following are the words of Mr. Bund, upon which basis Mr. Maddocks and his colleague, Mr. Waterhouse, erect such a superstructure:—

"The Latin saints have always their title 'Saint' prefixed to their names, it being a mark of rank, a title of honour; their biographers considered they were only describing the saint properly in using it, and that its use showed the rank of the individual. But as the Celtic writers did not consider the term to be in any way a mark of distinction or honour, they did not consider it necessary to prefix it. . . So it will be seen that in the Welsh documents written before the 11th century, that is, in the time of the freedom of the Celtic Church, the prefix saint is usually omitted, while in Latin documents, after the 11th century, the prefix is usually inserted. . . . It was one of the peculiarities of the Welsh saints that there was never any special *cultus* of them. They were esteemed as saints by the Celts, and that was all. It was impossible for the Latin, strive as he might, to prevent this. The result was that certain of the Celtic saints in time came to be accepted by the Latins." (p. 419). This is the quotation which Mr. Waterhouse and Mr. Maddocks so distort as to convey the meaning that the "Old Welsh Church had 'no Saints' in the ordinary sense of the word; its Saints were not saintly, but shared all the vices of the people"!

Mr. Bund adds: "It is the fashion of modern Church writers to deplore the lethargy which fell upon the Church in Wales from the Restoration to the rise of Methodism. From an ecclesiastical point of view it was a most deplorable period, but it is the result of this lethargic interval that the Anglican Establishment has been able to gain such hold as she has in Wales, a hold which she could have obtained in no other way. As discipline relaxed the Anglican priest tended more and more in the direction of a layman—a man on the same level with the farmer and horse-dealer, who was not afraid to sit and drink with them; who would sink the Church and Ecclesiastical theories and become as much one of the villagers as the old Celtic tribal priest had been. The parson no longer occupied, or claimed to occupy, a superior position to the other villagers, their tastes became his tastes, and their wants and desires were also his. It is by these means that the Anglican Church has

obtained her hold in Wales, and became more popular, because more identified with the people than she had ever previously been. Methodism, or rather Nonconformity, brought about a change, the effects of which we have yet to see. From its greater flexibility it approached more nearly to the old Welsh tribal idea of *the mutual rights of the people and the religious body*, in so far as she satisfied the Welsh ideas, she became accepted by the Welsh " (pp. 508-509).

Have words ever been more unscrupulously distorted and misrepresented than these! Moreover, to suggest that the discipline of " the English Church at present established in Wales is too strict for the Welsh people," when everybody knows that it has opened wide its door, and taken into holy orders men who have hopelessly forfeited their positions in the Nonconformist pulpits of Wales, *because* they " were not afraid to sit and drink " with " the farmer and horse-dealer," is simply reckless. Mr. Maddocks, at least, knows full well that the " English Church at present established in Wales has, in the past, been very long suffering and abnormally lenient in this respect, especially in its so called " discipline " of laymen!

In my former work I referred to the first enforced payment of tithes—variously dated by Bishop Stubbs, Lord Selborne, and others, as 787, 970, and 855. Without going into the merits of the question of exact date (indeed in this volume I have been led to favour Selborne's date, see p. 27), and caring very little, for my purpose, which was correct, I said: " The fact, therefore, that in England it was an Act of Parliament, in 855, A.D., in the reign of Ethelwulf, that first enforced the payment of tithe by civil law, while it may be interesting enough in dealing with the endowments of the Church of England, has no more to do with the question of the emoluments of the Celtic Church in Wales than the passing of a similar Act of Parliament in the moon would have!" As a matter of fact, the words "of Parliament" is omitted in my present book. But my critics are terribly upset by the idea that a Parliament is spoken of in my former work as existing in Anglo-Saxon times, as " no Parliament " existed for over 400 years later (although this again has nothing to do with the question in debate), and proceed to describe the phrase as " an appalling specimen of what school boys call a 'howler' " (p. 126). I, of course, referred to the " Witenagemot," and spoke of it in modern phrase. In order to feel satisfied that this was not an undue liberty to take with men of Mr. Waterhouse and Mr. Maddocks' erudite pretensions, I have turned up the word " Witenagemot " in " The Century Dictionary," and find that it is thus described: " In *Anglo-Saxon history* the great national council, or *Parliament*." I am evidently in good company. Besides, as I clearly stated, the question of whether tithe was legalized in the reign of Ethelwulf, or Edgar, or indeed any other time in England, is a matter of supreme indifference to me, as it had positively nothing to do with the Welsh tithe.

The authors further endeavour to account for the admittedly total absence of all reference to tithes in The Black Book of St. David's by the fanciful distinction, as applied to those times, between " temporalia " and " spiritualia." It is added that " temporalia " are " lands and rents like those of a lay owner," and that tithes being " spiritualia," are not mentioned in the book which only deals with " temporalia." Now, this is begging the whole question, as my contention is that tithes in Wales at the outset were primarily claimed by the king, or chief of a tribe, &c., and were only gradually appropriated by the clergy. In those days, therefore, tithes could not be treated as if they were " spiritualia." The reason suggested by Mr. Bund, and quoted by me in page 26 of this book, is more plausible, but, for the reason given on that page,

even that seems to be unsatisfactory. In any case there is the undoubted fact that The Black Book of St. David's makes no mention of tithes.

With regard to The Book of Llandaff I state (see pp. 26-27) that it has no direct allusion to parochial tithes. In confirmation of this I quote the words of Mr. Bund, viz., that "it does not mention or allude to tithe." To this Messrs. Waterhouse, Maddocks and Thomas affirm (p. 124) that "Rees's Edition of the Liber Landavensis (1840) shows that Bishop Urban rests his claim to churches and lands, together with their tithes, oblations, sepultures, territories, places of refuge, and the free commonage of the same,' upon the fact of their being *gifts to the See in British times.*"

Now, Mr. Bund's meaning in the above extract is clear from what he more fully states in page 44 of the same book. Referring to The Book of Llandaff he says:—"It recites *charter after charter* from the earliest times; there are plenty of gifts of lands, villages, rents, all kinds of rights and privileges, but *no tithes.*". Professedly it was on the *charters* that the claim of Bishop Urban was sustained, or otherwise. That he mentions tithes among the long list of gifts goes for nothing, unless the charters sustain his contention—and no one can pretend that there is a single clause in any one of the charters cited which mention tithes as a distinct and separate gift. The utmost *that can be imagined* is that the gift of land in the case of a chief *might* have included the tithes formerly due to the chief of that land, which thus were transferred with the land and as a part of the gift. Bishops, as a rule, have not been lacking in boldness of assertion, and Bishop Urban's claim here, clearly *unsustained by a single charter he cites*, only proves the rule. As a matter of fact, in the Request of Bishop Urban to Pope Calixtus II. (Rees' Liber Landavensis, p. 556) he further writes: "The Church is not only desolate and impoverished by having its territories taken from it, but also by being deprived of its tithes, and of the clergy of the diocese, both by robbery of the laity and of the monks, and by the great invasion of the territory and diocese by our own brethren the Bishops of Hereford and St. David's." It is admittedly questionable whether all this would be accepted by any historian as a strictly accurate and truthful statement.*

Still less would any historian accept the statement:—"Because from ancient times, that is, from the time of Eleutherius, Pope of the See of Rome, and after the coming of Augustine, metropolitan of the Church of Canterbury, to the island of Britain, the bishop of this place was always subject and obedient in all things to the same Archbishop." It is evident that Urban was a man of poetic temperament, endowed with vivid imagination.

In my reference to Bishop Jenkinson, of St. David's (see page 157), I stated in my former book that the bishopric of St. David's, in 1839, was valued at £3,473. In reply to that my critics state that for 1829-1831 the net annual income was £1,897 (p. 141). I also stated that in 1839 the "Golden Deanery of Durham" was £8,066, to which they reply that the average value for 1829-1831 was £6,248. But why choose the dates from eight to ten years previous? Let them give the values for the year 1839. As a matter of fact, when Bishop Thirlwall held the Golden Deanery of Durham—after 1840—it only amounted to £4,000 a year, as I state in p. 169 of this book. The value had undergone a change. But he held also the Deanery of Christ Church, Brecon, £4,000.

* Indeed, at the death of Urban, Innocent II. finally pronounced against his claims, and St. David's and Hereford retained possession of the districts. Thus their right to these possessions to-day is based upon the falsity of Urban's statements.

It would be interesting to know whether Bishop Jenkinson did, or did not, enjoy the same privilege. I have given him the benefit of the doubt so far as that little item is concerned! Our critics will find that we are on a voyage of discovery when once the question of Episcopal incomes in the past is raised, as I shew in this work pp. 152-174.

The authors seem to work themselves into great righteous indignation over my general reference to Tertullian (see page 14), which, by the by, does not in any way affect any point in dispute between us. They write (p. 117): "We are told that 'at the close of the second century' he (Tertullian) relates that 'places in Britain hitherto unvisited by the Romans' were subjected to Christianity. Now the date of this passage is about A.D. 208, which is not the close of the second century, but early in the third. And the passage itself says nothing about places 'hitherto unvisited' by the Romans. It simply speaks of places *inaccessible* to them. . . We wish simply to point out that '*hitherto unvisited*' is an unwarranted inference from Tertullian's words, and an arbitrary assumption as to his meaning" (p. 117). Now these critics speak of Dr. Bright as "an author not inferior in learning to any of those great lights who have graced the English Church" (p. x.) and again they speak of him as "beloved and revered" (p. xiv.). They also quote approvingly (p. 28) from page 5 of his "Early English Church History." If they had but read that page from which they professedly quote, they would have found the opinion of this great authority on the question of the translation and date of the passage which I quote. There Dr. Bright gives as his translation "places in Britain *not yet reached* by Romans," and says, "A high authority would explain the word '*inaccessa*' as referring simply to Roman movements at that time against a British revolt (Haddan l.c. & Councils i. 2)"; but in a footnote on the same page he writes: "Bishop Kaye on Tertullian, p. 94, understands the passage as referring to the farthest extremities of Britain. So Burton, ii. 207, 'parts of the island which had *not been visited* by the Romans.' So Alb. Butler, for Sept. 16; Robertson, Hist. Ch., ch. i. 218; Bishop Forbes, Preface to Arbuthnott Missal, p. iii." So much with regard to my "unwarranted inference" and "arbitrary assumption" in my translation. As a matter of fact, among translations given the most "unwarranted" is the one suggested by my critics, as every Latin scholar knows. The word may be translated "unapproached"; "unreached"; "unvisited," &c.; but least, and last of all, "*inaccessible*"!

Next as to date. On page 4 and the fatal page 5, Dr. Bright in a footnote writes: "Tertull: Adv. Jud. 7. According to Bishop Kaye (on Tertullian p. 61) the tract against the Jews was probably written before Tertullian became a Montanist. The event is dated by Dr. Pusey *not later* than A.D. 201. Haddan dates the tract A.D. 208, the year in which Severus visited Britain (Remains, p. 223); *yet see Bishop Kaye, p. 50.* From the words italicised by me, it is evident what Dr. Bright's opinion is—namely, that of Dr. Pusey, endorsed by Bishop Kaye. Now, as Tertullian, according to Dr. Pusey, became a Montanist in 201 A.D., and the tract was written *before* he became a Montanist, I am literally correct in what was given merely as a general statement, that Tertullian wrote "at the close of the second century." Here again the question of a few years in no way affected the argument, even if my critics had been right.

A similar complaint is made of my reference to Origen (see p. 14)—which again involved no debatable point in the argument—as having made a general assertion "early in the third century." Dr. Bright in a footnote referring to this passage and a later statement to which I also refer, states: "These

passages were written towards the middle of the third century." He does not here distinguish between the first and second as to exact date, but is satisfied with a general phrase for both. Archdeacon Pryce (p. 66), who accepts Haddan's date for Tertullian, gives 239 A.D. as the date when Origen made the statement to which I refer as having been made "early in the third century." My critics are once more greatly disturbed by this general statement, because "the century was almost half over when the passage was written"! Now these critics must have been hard up for material to run so madly after such "Will o' the wisps," and, after all, for no possible purpose, so far as the argument was concerned, but simply to divert attention from the main issues!

Messrs. Waterhouse and Maddocks have no fondness for the Rev. H. W. Clarke. They resent (p. 129) my designating him as "a clergyman of the Church of England," and Mr. Maddocks claims as a piece of original discovery, to which he appends his own name in brackets, that "the man's name" "does not appear" in *Crockford* "from 1894 to 1902." He does not tell us that it does appear in Crockford for 1892, if not for 1893.* Unfortunately 1892 is the latest copy by me. Moreover, his name is given in the title page of one of his books (1890), on "The Past and Present Revenues of the Church of England in Wales," as "The Rev. Henry William Clarke, B.A. (Church of England)." He published his book on the "History of Tithes" in 1891. Evidently Mr. Clarke was one of those clergymen who are too candid and outspoken for Mr. Maddocks, and whose figures have been a terror to Church Defence Lecturers and others. It would be much more to the point if they disproved any statement or figures which I have quoted from Mr. Clarke's three books, or even questioned the accuracy of *Crockford* in the footnote I now supply.

With regard to the Tonna controversy, I refer the reader to pages 175 and 176, and challenge contradiction of the facts stated. There was an objection to the phrase, "thrust by the Bishop of Llandaff," in the smaller work, in which I briefly summarized the situation. That phrase admitted of modification. For "thrust" I have substituted "dumped" as more exactly expressing the manner in which the Vicar was appointed. I have explained that although the Bishop confirmed the appointment, he did this with reluctance, after protesting in vain. One may question the courage which gave way before a pressure, which might have been resisted; yet the fact remains that pressure was brought to bear upon the Bishop. But this makes the appointment all the more unfortunate, and a public canvas, two years later, as to whether residents (the bulk of whom are Nonconformists) desire to get rid of the Vicar, towards whom, as a man, they have no ill-will, does not by any means test the wisdom of the appointment, or the accuracy of my statements.

In reply to the charge of monoglot clergymen being still very frequently, and in some cases systematically appointed in distinctly Welsh districts, my critics enlarge upon the fact that Welsh Nonconformist Churches are turned into English Churches in localities which, owing to new industrial conditions, are being rapidly Anglicised, as if such cases were at all parallel to those of which I complain. The circumstances are altogether different. The question is purely one of adaptation to the linguistic requirements of the people, so that the Gospel shall be preached in a language "understanded of the people."

---

* The entry in *Crockford* for 1892 is as follows:—Clarke, Henry William, 11, Euston-square, N.W.—T.C.D.; B.A. (Resp.), 1864. Div. Test. (2nd Cl.) 1866. **d.** 1866 Lond. **p** 1875. Kilmore. **ff** C. of St. Matt., Maida Hill, 1866-67; Derryheal Kilmore, 1875-76. Author, *The History of Tithes from Abraham to Queen Victoria.* 5s. cr. 8v. G. Redway, 1887. New ed. 1891.

Thus, while the foisting of a monoglot English clergyman upon a Welsh-speaking community is a glaring wrong, the conversion of Welsh religious services into English because of the changed conditions through Anglicising influences is as clearly commendable and right, according to the teaching of the Prayer-Book, as well as the dictates of duty and common sense.

The reference made by me to the Church in Wales as "the Church of the rich and few" is indignantly resented by Messrs. Waterhouse and Maddocks. They quote in refutation of this the words of Mr. Gladstone—who, as a strong Churchman, would naturally say all he could in its favour—namely, that it is "an advancing Church," &c., evidently ignorant of the fact that Mr. Gladstone was the first to use the phrase complained of, and which has been so widely accepted as a terse and truthful statement of a well-known fact.

The criticism of my reference to Glyntaff National Schools in the preface to my smaller work is in keeping with all this trifling. They write (p. 113): "We have to say that if a vicar of a parish allowed a Dissenter to give Church teaching to Church children, he showed great unwisdom." In the first place, at least, three-fourths of the children were Nonconformists; in the second place, the school was a National School subsidized by the State, and there should have been no insisting upon Church teaching to Nonconformist children. But above all this my continuance as a teacher was conditioned upon my attending Church on Sundays. The extract supplied by the present Vicar, and given by Messrs. Woodhouse and Maddocks (pp. 113-114), although they are not complete, confirm my statement. I reproduce the four up to the date of my leaving:—

May 27, 1863.—Find that the parents are averse to the Catechism being taught to their children.

November, 13, 1863.—Received no complaints against the teaching of the Catechism in the school.

November 1, 1865.—The children appear to appreciate their religious teaching. The Catechism is better received.

May 5, 1865.—Catechism continues to be taught without interruption.

Surely, this abundantly sustains my assertion that Nonconformist children in this (as in other National Schools) were compelled to learn the Catechism in the face of the repeated objections of Nonconformist parents. The above extracts shew how the objections of parents, which were very pronounced and almost universal as the phrase "*the* parents" indicates, were persistently ignored and ultimately silenced. The very reference to the Catechism being "*better* received," while the religious teaching consisting of Scripture, as the Log-book shews in entries not supplied, appeared to be "appreciated," and the further entry six months later that the Catechism "continues to be taught *without interruption*," shews a state of seething dissatisfaction under the surface, which was carefully watched and successfully suppressed. Side by side with that is the undeniable fact that I had to discontinue because of my non-attendance at Church. A portion of my salary was also withheld until I sent a complaint to the Educational Department at Whitehall, when the money was forwarded by the vicar with the request to the bearer that he should not tell who sent it—instructions which were carried out until a refusal to give the receipt unless the name of the sender were given revealed the fact that the vicar had sent the money! In my former statement I suppressed all this, as I did not wish to introduce an unnecessarily serious charge in my smaller book; but now that my statement is challenged I supply the facts, and, if challenged further, will supply the names of the vicar and the schoolmaster. If this matter is pursued

further, too, it will be interesting to reproduce the entry in the Log-book by the Examiner (Mr. Biggs) on the extent to which the efficiency of the school had suffered by the departure of the two teachers, Evan and David Davies.

So far as the main contention of the book is concerned: that which is ostensibly its burden, and from which it derives its name, viz., "The Continuity of the Church in Wales," I am content to abide by the estimate of the able Reviewer in *The Western Mail* for September 3, 1910:—"After a perusal of the volume one is not satisfied—one feels that something is missing in the book, that the case in favour of *the continuity of the Church in Wales* is not put definitely enough before the reader. He rises from the volume without realising how far the case has been proved, or how much more there is to say in defence of the position of the Church in Wales. One would like to know how the Ancient British Church disappeared, and of the Church in Wales when saints walked the earth. One would like to know more about the beginning of the Church of England in Wales, and the complete disappearance of the "Ecclesiæ Walliæ," for the preservation of which Archbishop Peckham pleaded. It is doubtful whether the authors have kept the Church of Rome and the Church in Wales sufficiently distinct. At any rate, we are left to find out for ourselves to what extent the Church in Wales was Romanised. Roman Catholics maintain that the Welsh Church like the English was Roman Catholic, and that our ancient churches and endowments properly belonged to them. It would be well to have these and other questions cleared up and leave the reader as free of doubt as possible on questions which puzzle him on ground of history."

This Reviewer cannot possibly be supposed to have an unfavourable bias, as he writes for the daily paper which for many years has been recognized as the powerful exponent in Wales of Conservative and Church principles, and to which Mr. Maddocks is a devoted and assiduous contributor. But it has a reputation to lose on the ground of scrupulous fairness in its Literary Reviews—a reputation which it has sustained for many years, as I personally gladly acknowledge. The Reviewer, indeed, gives the gratifying assurance to my critics that the difficulty with which they have to contend is not in the strength of their opponent, as they could easily manage a writer of my calibre. In this, too, I thoroughly agree. It would be a sad pity if two Churchmen—even when Mr. Maddocks is the second—could not easily manage one Nonconformist of ordinary calibre. And yet the Reviewer feels that they have by no means made out their case. Thus the misfortune lies not in the strength of their antagonist, but in the weakness of their case. Precisely. It is so, undoubtedly.

I now issue my larger book. It will supply our opponents with more material for reply. My reticence regarding many shocking abuses up to date having been evidently misunderstood and unappreciated by those most deeply concerned, I have now written with far less reserve and restraint.

I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to the officials of the Rolls' Office and of the British Museum, and more recently to Mr. Ivano Jones and his assistants in the Welsh Section of the Central Reference Library, Cardiff, for their unfailing courtesy during my investigations.

Bronwydd,
Victoria Avenue,
Penarth, Cardiff.
September 5, 1910.

David Davies.

THE ANCIENT CELTIC CHURCH OF WALES.

CHAPTER I.

Its Origin and Early Characteristics.

THE history of origins has a charm distinctly its own, especially when it pertains to national life—and, above all, to the religious life of a people. The task of tracing peoples, institutions, customs, and languages to their source is often, indeed generally, very difficult, but always alluring, even when the object in view persistently eludes our grasp and mocks our hope. No mirage compares for illusiveness with the mirage of early traditions concerning a past, whose outlines even are indistinct, and whose details are hopelessly lost to the historian. Yet men rightly persist in their pursuit, for the very mirage, which itself disappoints, meanwhile allures the traveller on until he reaches a vantage ground from which he can better discern what the fallacy of vision had concealed from him, even while it inspired his hope and sustained his patience. The History of Origins.

Indeed is not this the law of all search and ultimate discovery? The dreams of youth are the inspirations which prepare the way for the visions of mature years. The young student finds, step by step, the fallacy of his early dreams, only, however, to discover the grandeur of his subsequent attainment. Every discoverer has a similar experience. It seems to be the law of all advancement that imperfect vision has its decoying ministry to render in leading on to fuller and clearer knowledge. This seems to illustrate the use of traditions in approaching the study of those times far remote, which they may largely falsify; but to which, nevertheless, they impart a fascinating interest.

Date of origin unknown.

The date of the origin of the Celtic Church of Wales is quite unknown. There are many traditions and conjectures more or less attractive; and, as usual, where history is least explicit, they are most clear and emphatic. There is, for instance, a tradition, wrongly attributed to Gildas, that Christianity was introduced into this Island by Suetonius Paulinus before the defeat of Boadicea in 61 A.D. On the other hand, the Triads, which are probably of recent date, give in germ the expanded tradition that Paul met Caractacus, the Welsh Prince, when both were prisoners in Rome in 58-59 A.D. : that Brân, the father of Caractacus, was a hostage in Rome for his son for seven years, 60-67 A.D. During this period, in harmony with a certain interpretation of a phrase used by Clemens Romanus, namely, "the utmost bounds of the west," Paul is said to have visited the Vale of Glamorgan, and spent some time with Caractacus in his Welsh home. According to the above tradition, Brân returned in 67 A.D. (about the time of the assassination of Nero, 68 A.D.), bringing with him Ilid and other missionaries, whose ministry was so successful as to result in the building of Llanilid Church, in the county of Glamorgan, the oldest church in Great Britain. These details require a good deal of dove-tailing to make them perfectly consistent and congruous. But the whole tradition is so romantic and alluring as to make one earnestly wish that it could be substantiated by something like contemporaneous history.

Tradition of Paul's visit to S. Wales.

But one is reluctantly obliged to reject, at least, that part of the tradition which refers to Brân, although that concerning Caractacus has in it much to commend it. In the first place, although it does not harmonize with the other tradition, that Christianity was introduced by Suetonius Paulinus, yet, if Caractacus returned in seven years, as is once affirmed, from Rome, he would return about the same time as Suetonius Paulinus came and defeated Boadicea. The return of Caractacus, however, is very doubtful, as Tacitus affirms that, although undoubtedly Claudius, from admiration of the noble bearing of Caractacus in that procession, as it defiled past Agrippina and himself, spared his life and that of his wife and children, Caractacus himself was not permitted to return to lead his people again to battle. Besides, the Triads, in one place, state that he died in four years after his capture, and

that his children, having become Christians in Rome, returned to Britain, bringing Christianity with them. The tradition, therefore, has certain variations, which add to the confusion regarding the details, even though it should be mainly true. There is nothing, however, that renders it impossible for the tradition to be true in the main, namely, that Christianity was introduced into this country soon after the capture of Caractacus. But the question whether that was done by Suetonius Paulinus, or Caractacus (presuming that in that detail Tacitus may have not been well-informed), or by his children, would still remain an open question.

But the connection of Brân with this tradition is certainly apocryphal. In the first place Tacitus, while he describes seriatim Caractacus, and the different members of his family, as they appeared before Claudius, makes no mention whatever of Brân, then or later on. This Caractacus, moreover, was not the son of Brân; but of Cunobelin. There was a Caractacus in the seventh century, who was the son of Brân ab Llyr Lledíaith, who was not a Welshman, but an Irishman. As will be at once seen, about six centuries divided the two, who bore the same name—the former being a historic character, the other being practically unknown. Now, the second Caractacus was born after the advent of Augustine. If, therefore, the one through whom Christianity first was introduced was Brân the father of that Caractacus, the planting of the Celtic Church in Wales would be subsequent to the advent of Augustine, and the precedence of Canterbury would be established. This tradition, then, as it stands, is a fine specimen of "faking up" by one or more of the Latin ecclesiasts of the early ages. Happily, there can be no doubt of the existence of a British Church centuries before Augustine set foot on these shores, and of the survival of the Welsh Church at the time he arrived in Kent, and there is, moreover, abundant evidence, as we shall soon see, of the interviews of its bishops with Augustine, and of their presence at the early Synods long preceding the time of Augustine.

The tradition of Arwystli being first Bishop.

The first bishop of the British Church, on the authority of Greek martyrology, and according to the deliberate opinion of Dr., now Sir, Principal Rhys, of Jesus College, Oxford, our distinguished fellow-countryman and Celtic Scholar, was Arwystli, or Aristobulus, who, according to tradition, was ordained by the

Apostle Paul, and to whose household reference is made in the last chapter of the Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 10).

Archbishop Usher's Brit. Eccles. Antiq.

Bishop Stillingfleet's Origin. Brit.

Dr. Burgess' Charge, pp. 19 & 20.

The familiar tradition of Paul's visit to this country has been upheld by Usher, Stillingfleet, as also by Dr. Burgess, the Bishop of St. David's, who, in 1812, in his Charge to the Clergy, gave a very interesting and able defence and exposition of the tradition, in which he attaches great importance to the reference made by Clemens Romanus, Paul's "fellow-labourer," to the departure of Paul "to the utmost bounds of the west," which, Dr. Burgess affirmed, included Spain and Britain.

But although we may be forced to place on one side even the more credible portion of that much cherished tradition, there is a wide concurrence of opinion among historians that British Christianity had found root in this country, probably early in, and almost certainly before the close of, the second century. It does not, however, appear to have come directly from Rome, but from Gaul. It seems evident that about the middle of the second century during the persecution of the early Christians in Gaul, some members of the Churches at Lyons and Vienne fled to these islands for refuge, and brought their religion with them.

See Haddan's Remains, p. 216; Warren's "Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church," p. 85; Pryce's "Ancient British Church," pp. 61, &c.

The statement of Tertullian at the close of the second century that "places in Britain, hitherto unvisited by the Romans, were subjected to Christianity," and the general assertion of Origen, early in the third century that "Britain was converted to the Christian faith" (although he considerably modified that elsewhere, by stating that "very many had not yet heard of the Gospel") go alike to shew that at least a considerable portion of the people of this land in those early days had been brought under Christian influence. These had given such proofs of the sincerity of their Christian confession as to give great joy to those Christian Fathers, who had heard of the glad tidings from the western-most extremity of the Roman Empire.

Tertullian—Adv. Jud. vii.

Origen—Hom. vi. on Luke, i. 24.

Origen—Homil xxxiii. on St. Matth. xxiv.

St. Iren, i. 3.

The silence of Irenæus about the year 180 A.D. concerning any Christian Church in Britain, and, indeed, even in Northern Gaul, need not disconcert us. This may partly be accounted for by the fact that he wrote about twenty years earlier than even Tertullian, and, therefore, at a time when the news may not have reached him.

Besides, even if he had heard of the recent establishment of Christianity in Britain, it was beside his immediate purpose just then to refer to it, as his aim in the passage to which allusion is made, was to enforce his argument by a reference to churches, not only settled, but well-established and consolidated, whose accepted traditions as such would be of recognised weight and influence.

Indeed, there appear to have been numerous Christian settlements in Wales before the end of the second century, which maintained a close connexion with the Churches of Gaul, and which were identical with them in creed and practice, as will appear from the fact that the names of some of the ministers of Gaul are treasured in the annals of the ancient Welsh Church.

The Transition from Druidism to Christianity

Her early history was apparently one of rapid and vigorous growth. Ancient Druidism gave way before the triumphant advance of the Gospel. The emotional and responsive people of Wales gave joyous welcome to the message of love, which contrasted so gloriously with the cruel customs and debasing rites of the Druidical faith. Hence Wales ceased to be the centre of Druidism, and became the early home and chosen sanctuary of the Christian religion.

Introd. to "Hanes Cymru" by O. M. Edwards.

"Aspects of the Christian Church in Wales." in Transactions of the Cymmrod. Soc., 1893-4, pp. 58 seq. By Prof. Hugh Williams.

Two of our most distinguished Welsh historians, to both of whom I would pay much deference, namely, Owen M. Edwards, M.A., and Professor Hugh Williams, appear to differ widely regarding the antiquity of Celtic Christianity. The former believes that by the time of the departure of the Romans, the majority of the Welsh people had become Christians, while Professor Hugh Williams writes: "I have been driven to the conclusion that there was no real British Church, that is, a Church of the native Celtic inhabitants before the 5th century." If by that statement Professor Hugh Williams had meant that until the withdrawal of the Romans, in 410 A.D., the Celtic Church consisted of Romans, as well as Celts, and that a Church consisting exclusively of "Celtic inhabitants," did not exist till the fifth century, no one, I think, would have called that into question. It appears probable that the Celtic Church, until the withdrawal of the Christians in the Roman Army of occupation, consisted of Romans as well as Celts. This, indeed, is emphasized by Warren and others.

"The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church." By F. E. Warren, B.A., p. 28.

But Professor Williams goes considerably further. Zimmer, in referring to his contention, says: "According to him the Chris-

"The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland." By Heinrich Zimmer. p.57. 1902.

tian Church of the fourth century comprised chiefly Roman residents in British towns, while the British population in the country remained heathen; and he asserts that soon after the withdrawal of the Romans, and the collapse of the Christian Church of Britain, there arose in its place, perhaps under the influence of Southern Gaul, the Celtic Church." Zimmer thinks this view can only be explained "by an insufficient knowledge of the state of things in Britain before and after the withdrawal of the Romans, and by a wrong conception of the alleged desertion of Britain." He continues: "Two decisive facts may still be added: first the fugitive Britons, whom fear of the Saxons drove from South Britain to the Coasts of Armorica were *Christians*, and yet spoke *British*, since their descendants have preserved that language to the present day; and secondly, the missionaries which came from Britain to Christianize Ireland in the fourth century also used British as their native idiom."

British Bishops at important Councils.

The presence, too, of British bishops—or pastors—at important councils, as well as the very existence of so important and far-reaching a heresy as the Pelagian (or Morgan) doctrine, go far to prove that not only had Christianity secured a firm footing in Britain, but also that there existed a Celtic Church, whose representatives took no unimportant part in the deliberations of the Christian leaders of the time, earlier than the fifth century of the Christian era.

Chrysostom's Testimony, 390 A.D.

In 390 A.D. Chrysostom wrote: "Even the British Isles have felt the power of the Word, for there, as on the shores of the Euxine, or in the south, men may be heard discussing points in Scripture, with differing voices, but not with differing belief, with varying tongues, but not with varying faith." Already the Britons had evidently developed a fondness for religious discussion, which has been characteristic of Welsh Christianity in later days.

Athanasius, 363 A.D.

Haddan and Stubbs—Councils & Ecclesiastical Doctrine

They were, however, untouched by the Diocletian persecutions 304 A.D. There were, we learn, representatives of the British Church at Arles (314 A.D.), Ariminium (389 A.D.), probably at Sardica (347 A.D.), and British Christians accepted the creed and canons of the Council of Nicæa in 325 A.D., and confirmed this in 363 A.D. Jerome, in the beginning of the fifth century, and Venantus Fortunatus in the sixth, also speak with considerable emphasis and cordiality of the British faith in their day. Indeed, British Chris-

"The English Church to the Norman Conquest," by W. Hunt, M.A., p. 2; 1899

tians took a decided stand very early against some dangerous innovations. Thus, when the authority of the Pope of Rome was asserted over the western churches, including the British, Dinooth of Bangor Isgoed, for the British Christians declared that they owed him, whom they called Pope, no obedience; but only brotherly kindness and charity. The British Christians remained independent in Church polity, and opposed heroically all the encroachments of the Papacy, when others too readily submitted.

Chrysostom —Germ. de Util. Script. and Contra Judaeos.

Moreover, we learn from Athanasius and Jerome, as well as Chrysostom, that the Celtic Church in the fourth century was accepted as orthodox in its creed. I know, however, of no description which, for terseness and graphic picturesqueness, can equal the late Dean Edwards' vindication of the vigorous life and free, expansive growth of the early Celtic Church, in his Letter to Mr. Gladstone, dated Jan. 22, 1870. He wrote: "There is no trace of an alien Roman Episcopate having been forced by imperial authority upon the ancient British Church. It is possible that the scantiness of her early endowments secured to her this freedom, and enabled her, in the presence of rapacity, to sing thankful songs of liberty in her ancient language, and in a voice free from the foreign accents of intruded ecclesiastics. . . . From this point of view, the Pelagian controversy, which had its origin in the subtle and daring intellect of the Cymro, Morgan, is no mean evidence of the life of the Cymric Church . . . [These Pelagian tenets] had so far extended . . . throughout Christendom, in the second decade of the fifth century, as to call forth the controversial energies of St. Augustine, and to require for their suppression the formal condemnation of the Council of Carthage. The energy with which this great controversy was carried on for more than a century, until the Pelagian tenets, condemned at the Synod of Llanddewi Brefi in A.D. 519, were finally exploded out of the Cymric Church at the Synod of Victory at Caerleon in A.D. 529, is no insignificant proof of the intellectual freedom of the Cymric mind, and its activity in the sphere of theological science, in an age when the Saxons were still groping in the darkness of heathenism.

Jerome (c 400 A.D.).

Dean Edwards' Letter to Mr. Gladstone in 1870.

The Pelagian Heresy.

Synods of Llanddewi Brefi and Caerleon.

"The Colleges of Henllan, Mochros, Caerleon-ar-Wysg, Llancarfan, and Caerworgan (now Llantwit Major), founded by Archbishop Dyfrig (Dubritius) in the fifth century, still in their ruins

bear eloquent testimony to the thirst for intellectual culture that characterised the ancient Cymry.

St. David: the Patron Saint.

"The mental activity . . . moral grandeur, and allegiance to the eternal supremacy of the spiritual life, are not less strikingly represented in the historic figure of her greatest Archbishop and Patron Saint, whose graces have cast their sweetness down the centuries. In the traditional glories of the Cymric Church, under the then uninvaded Primacy of St. David's, nourished by the ministrations of her native clergy, and illuminated by the influence of those ancient seats of learning . . the Cymric Churchman of the present day thinks he beholds the lineaments of the higher and nobler forms of Church life which the enthusiastic faith of his race . . might, under the happier auspices of ecclesiastical faith and justice, and in the free energy of native development, have presented as a noble spiritual fabric pointing heavenwards."

In the foregoing eloquent words, Dean Edwards hinted at the love of liberty which, parallel with its spiritual fervour and yearning for enlightenment, characterized the ancient Welsh Church. I would add that this love of liberty was the outcome of its essentially democratic character. The Celtic Church was based upon the tribe. The tribe was divided into two sections—(a) that of the chief, and (b) that of the saint. Each tribe governed its own affairs, secularly and religiously, as the Welsh Laws abundantly shew. Both sections of the tribe had their recognised rights, which were rigidly observed. On the accession of every new chief, the members of the tribe of the saint had to specify to the chief what rights they claimed; and these, when found correct, were admitted. Hence, while the Church had its rights, it was not in the sense that the Latins held the Church to be supreme over the State, but as co-equal with those of any other claimant, and, in matters temporal, equally subject to the jurisdiction of the chief.

The democratic basis of the Celtic Church—The Tribe.

Ancient Laws of Wales, p. 139.

In later days, when monasteries abounded—that is, Celtic mission centres, the nature of which, as we shall shew later, were essentially different from that of Latin monasteries—every monastery had its bishop; but this bishop, as Mr. Watkin Williams, himself a Churchman, showed in moving his Resolution for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, May 24, 1870, was totally different from the modern dignitary who bears that title in this

country. He said:—"I have the authority of Bede, and of Thiérry, in his history of the Norman Conquest, for this statement, that at the time Augustine started 'The Church of the English,' as it was called in those days—although now called 'The Church of England'—the Church of the Britons, confined as it was to the Principality of Wales, was a Church very different indeed from 'The Church of the English.' That is to say, its bishops were not great territorial barons, as they subsequently became by the infusion of the feudal system into the Church, but were true overseers of the Church.* Their authority was derived from the people, and they acted only in concert with, and by the assent of, the people; and I prove that . . . When Pope Gregory, in his letter to St. Augustine advised him how to deal with the Bishops of the British, he recommended him to have an interview with them, and to endeavour to get control over them, and to subject them to his rule. He, therefore, met many of the Bishops of Wales, with their Archbishop, in a Synod. They admitted he was a messenger of truth; but gave him the significant answer, that although they were willing, so far as they were concerned, to conform to the usages and practices of his Church, *they could not do so without first consulting and obtaining the assent of their people.*"

Mr. Watkin Williams' speech in House of Commons 1870.

Augustine and the Celtic Bishops.

Bede's Ecclesiastical History, B. 1, c. 1

For the moment, those Bishops did not seem to realize what they subsequently did in conference with their people, namely, the essential difference between the polity of their Church and that of Augustine's Church. This is an instance of the safety of an interchange of opinion between pastors and their people, or bishops and the laity! As the result, when those Bishops next met Augustine, they were far more clear and emphatic in their reply. This, no doubt, was also partly due to the haughty and autocratic bearing which Augustine increasingly assumed in his interview with them.

Thiérry, the great French historian, records their final reply, the authenticity of which has been too readily questioned: "We will never admit the pretended rights of Roman ambition any more than those of Saxon tyranny. In the bond of love and charity we are all subjects and servants to the Church of God, yea, to the

Thiérry.

The final reply of the Celtic Bishops to Augustine.

*Bishop Stubbs is often quoted to prove the contrary; but his words are—"From *the very beginning of Parliament*, Welsh Bishops were barons as well as Bishops in the House of Lords." These words clearly indicate that before then the Welsh Bishops were *not* barons.—D.D.

Pope of Rome and every true Christian, to help them forward both in deed and word to be the children of God; but for the submission of obedience we owe that only to God, and after God to our venerable head the Bishop of Caerleon."

The demands of Augustine.

At this second meeting it would appear that some points of difference were emphasized by Augustine, and that he demanded, as conditions of union with Canterbury, conformity (1) as to time of Easter; (2) as to the administration of Baptism*; and (3) as to preaching the Gospel to the Saxons. But important as these points may have been, what the Celtic Bishops saw clearest was the stern and haughty attitude of Augustine, which led them to conclude that conformity with Rome was demanded chiefly as a badge of submission, and for the forfeiture of their independence. They resented this and repudiated submission† to any authority whether of State or of Hierarchy, and as long as the Celtic Church had an existence it fought for this, and submitted only when resistance was no longer possible.

The Celtic Church free of all Hierarchical Rule or State Control.

So was struck thus early, and once for all, the clarion note of religious liberty and freedom of conscience, and the independency of the Church of all Hierarchical Rule, or State Control, by those grand old Cymric Free Churchmen. They resented alike the pretensions of the Pope, the supremacy of Canterbury, and the interference of temporal power. Mr. Williams, in the House of Commons, also referred to this. He said:—"I shall be able to support the tradition we have in Wales, and which we cling to, that the ancient British Church is a Church of pure Christianity, very different from that which is claimed by the Church of England, and that is, in many respects, curiously analogous to the ideas and opinions of the Nonconformist Churches in Wales at this moment."

J. W. Willis Bund's "The Celtic Church of Wales," pp. 510, 511.

This is amply confirmed by J. W. Willis Bund, a Churchman and Conservative, in his "History of the Celtic Church," when he states:—"Nonconformity comes nearer to the old tribal idea of Celtic Christianity than anything else. . . . A Welshman

---

* Haddan and Stubbs, in referring to this, say, "The precise defect intended is left to conjecture. Single immersion seems most probable. . . It was the custom 'in tota diocesi Macloviensi' in Brittany up to A.D. 1620. It prevailed in the 6th century in Spain, . . where there was probably a British Bishopric at that date." (Councils, &c., vol. I, p. 153.)

† This second meeting, according to Spelman, was attended by seven bishops and many learned men of the British nation, who had previously chosen Dunawd, the abbot of Bangor Isgoed, as their spokesman. (Spelman's Concil. Brit.)

who studies his country's history sees there is nothing so near the old Welsh religious system as Nonconformity—nothing so opposed to it as the Establishment. . . The Welsh idea was, has been, and is, 'the harmony of the Church and the people: the right of either party from the other and in the other.' The Anglican idea is that the Church lays down the rule of what is to be done; the people have to obey without question or dispute. . . . The Nonconformists represent the tribal, the Anglican the alien, Church" (pp. 510 & 511).

Nothing so near to it as Nonconformity: nothing so opposed to it as The Establishment.

The Celtic Church, moreover, according to the testimony of Bede, did not conform readily to traditions, or attach much importance to them. To a man of his strong Romish predilections this seemed strange. "It is true," he says, "that they followed uncertain rules in observance of the great Festival: they only practised such works of piety and chastity as they could learn from the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical writings." The Scriptures, and not the Church, were their standard of authority in all matters of creed and practice.

It will be observed that the centre of the religious life of each tribe was in the settlement called monastery. But the Celtic monastery was of an essentially different type from the Latin monastery, and our modern conceptions of monastic settlements. In the first place, each tribe had its monastery. The independency of each tribe involved the independency of each monastery, or settlement. It was of supreme importance that each of these settlements should be in itself a complete and independent Church, as it was the centre of the religious life of the tribe. As such, it had an abbot and a bishop of its own, whose authority and ministry was confined to that Church. The Bishop was certainly sometimes, and apparently was as a rule, subject to the abbot, even when the abbot was a layman, or a woman, as in the case of "The Blessed Bridget." But he was subject to no other authority, save to the chief of the tribe in secular matters. To use the phrase of the bishops themselves in their interview with Augustine, when he demanded submission of them, they owed "the submission of obedience only to God, and after God to their venerable head the Bishop of Caerleon," and to "their venerable head" they only owed precedence of rank, as *primus inter pares*—"first among equals"—but not of jurisdiction. Indeed, although in the quota-

The ancient Celtic monastery essentially different from the Latin monastery.

The Celtic Bishop very different from the modern diocesan Bishop.

tions already given from Dean Edwards, and J. W. Willis Bund, and others that may follow, the term "Archbishop" is used, there is nothing to shew that the title, as indicating supremacy, was used, or adopted, by any of the ancient Welsh Bishops. One thing is certain, that no one in the Celtic Church possessed the authority of "Archbishop" of the English, or of the Latin Church. The Celtic bishops, in ecclesiastical matters, were subject to no such authority as that of archbishop, pope, or potentate of any kind.

See "St. David's Cathedral." By Canon Bevan, p.43. Also *Brut* Gwentian

Indeed, the fact that even in his monastery, the Celtic bishop was in some cases, at least, subject to the abbot, shows that he had not adopted the Latin notion of the superiority of the clergy over the laity. Among the ancient Welsh the rights of the Church, and the rights of the tribe to which it belonged, were reciprocal and mutual. The authority of each monastery, as a religious centre, was limited to the dimensions of its possessions, and its services and ministrations were confined to the tribe to which it belonged. The ancient Celtic Church, as a whole, therefore, with its numerous monasteries and bishops, each of which maintained its independence and ministry as a centre of Christian service, was essentially different from the existing State Episcopal Church, which parcels out the whole country to so many provinces, dioceses and parishes: the parishes belonging to their respective dioceses, and the dioceses to their respective provinces, each incumbent being subject to his bishop, each bishop to his archbishop, and all being subject to the authority of the State, and to the temporal headship of the reigning monarch. There was no personal authority in the Celtic Church that was recognized supreme over it, nor was there such a thing as patronage connected with its appointments; no one had the right of selection for any vacancy; this was the prerogative of the whole body of the particular tribe of the saint where the vacancy had occurred. The only instance, moreover, of the submission of one Church to any other was in the case of a daughter church to the mother church, or "Llan." In every other case, the great Protestant Principle—long after this asserted by the Reformers in their protest in the Diet of Spires—was rigidly observed, namely: That the authority of each Church must be confined to the fellowship of that Church. The two systems, therefore, of the

The ancient Celtic Church essentially different from the Episcopal State Church.

The two systems as wide asunder as the Poles.

ancient Welsh Church, and of the present English Church in Wales, are as wide asunder as the poles.

This is still further evident when we come to compare the Celtic Bishops and the Diocesan Bishops of the Established Church. That there is a very wide difference between them, all competent historians are agreed, as I shall proceed to shew.

The Celtic Bishop altogether different from the English Diocesan Bishop.

Haddan and Stubbs emphasize the non-diocesan character of the Celtic Bishops, and, speaking strictly upon the evidence of MSS., state : " In Wales, bishops, not diocesan, but presiding over monasteries or educational institutions, are perhaps faintly traceable about the sixth century, e.g., Paulinus, who was simply abbot of his own monastery, at Ty-gwyn, is called a bishop by Ricemarch (V. S. David) writing, however, in the 11th century."

J. W. Willis Bund's "Celtic Church of Wales," pp. 34, 35, &c.

Mr. Bund writes : " Both Churches had bishops ; but here the similarity ceases. The Celtic and Latin bishops were two very different personages, both as regards the position they occupied and the duties they discharged. The Celtic bishop . . . was not the spiritual ruler over a defined area. He was not a person like a mediæval prelate, who claimed and asserted his superiority over the proudest lay prince. He was not like the bishop of our own day, the political nominee of the Government for the time being, whom a subservient Chapter pretend the Holy Spirit has inspired them to select. A Celtic bishop was merely a monastical official, and very often not an official of the highest rank. . . . The number of bishops depended on the number of monasteries, not dioceses. . . . It is not easy to say why alone of all the monastic officials, both of those superior and inferior to himself, the names of bishops are the only ones we have. . . . A list of names is easily made out, and looks plausible."

"The History and Antiquities of St. David's," By W. Basil Jones, M.A., and Ed. A. Freeman, M.A. (1856), pp. 257, 258.

Messrs. Jones and Freeman (the former afterwards the Bishop of St. David's, and the latter the well-known English historian, and a staunch Churchman), in referring to the period " from the era of St. David's to the middle of the ninth century," write that it " is an almost total blank," and then significantly add :—" We are presented with a list of Bishops, but we have nothing beyond their names, neither is their existence proved by any contemporary authority. . . . We are constrained to refer our readers to what has been already said respect-

ing the insertion of Cynog and Teilo, and to observe that the compilers of lists and genealogies are frequently tempted to swell the number of them with names purloined from extraneous sources" (pp. 257, 258). This is a very straightforward and significant estimate formed by two distinguished Churchmen, of the unscrupulous way Church records have been "faked up," and even invented, by ecclesiasts in the interest of traditional clericalism and episcopacy!

Ricemarsh, "Life of David-Cambro British Saints," p. 136.

It follows from what is above stated by Mr. Willis Bund, that the number of bishops at any time depended upon the number of monasteries established. This accounts for as many as 118 bishops stated to have been present at the great Synod of Llanddewi Brefi. Indeed some writers, like Principal Bebb, of Lampeter, affirm that bishops were not only consecrated as heads of monasteries, but also "often without such a position." Whether the Principal means by this that bishops were appointed not only as heads, but sometimes as subordinates to the abbots, in the monasteries, or that they were appointed without even that subordinate position, is not quite clear. In any case, the large number of bishops in the Celtic Church is not a very welcome item to defenders of Diocesan Episcopacy. Referring to the time of Llanddewi Brefi Synod, even Principal Bebb seems to find a grateful relief in using Prof. Bury's simile, and thus avoiding responsibility for its apparent vulgarity:—"Bishops multiplied like flies." We certainly have no ground to complain of the number of bishops since English kings and archbishops made them diocesan; the only possible room for serious doubt is with regard to their quality. That, undoubtedly, has been decidedly mottled.

Multiplicity of Early Bishops.

"History of the Diocese of St. Asaph," by Archdeacon Thomas, p. 14.

Archdeacon Thomas, while contending for the episcopacy of the Celtic Church, is careful to discriminate as to the kind of bishops and the manner of their election: "The Bishops were at first freely elected by their own clergy and laity, and were consecrated by one of their own order; but that there was any metropolitanship, or archiepiscopate, by which one See enjoyed authority over the rest, seems more than doubtful. Indeed, the claim of St. David's to that dignity, advanced in the twelfth century with so much force by Bishop Bernard and by Giraldus Cambrensis, is stated, on very high authority, to have been put forward in the hope of gaining freedom from Canterbury, and from English

Councils, &c Vol. I. p. 142.

"The Celtic Church of Wales" pp. 402, 403.

nominees to Welsh Bishoprics (Haddan and Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, Vol. 1, p. 142)."

"What we now call parishes were at first of great extent, and sparsely inhabited, and the clergy lived together, in a simple and homely manner, in a "clas" *collegium*, or *monasterium*, near the principal Church, a custom which seems to have been derived from the early diocesan arrangement.* As a rule of celibacy was never admitted in the British Church, their wives lived with them."

In Wales, as Willis Bund reminds us, "none of the Latin monasteries developed into a Cathedral: the Cathedrals were all survivors of Celtic monasteries: those that did not become Cathedrals, such as Llancarvan, Whitland, and others, disappeared on the arrival of the Latin monks."

The Endowments of the Celtic Church based on tribal customs.

Thus the Bishops of the four Welsh Dioceses are in possession of territory then occupied by probably 150 Celtic Bishops, to whom they have literally no point of similarity, save in the title they assume. In no sense is theirs a continuity, except that they have been placed into those positions by an alien Church, which, as I shall shew later on, crushed every characteristic feature out of the ancient Celtic Church, robbed it of its identity, and placed its own nominees in possession of its offices and emoluments.

This leads us to the next question, namely, the emoluments of the Celtic Church. These, again, were based on tribal rights and customs, as may be seen from the Ancient Welsh Laws. This fact has been strangely overlooked, and the question of Church property has been generally discussed by English writers of opposite schools, as if there was no inherent difference between the nature of the English Church emoluments and that of the ancient Welsh Church endowments. Hence the endless false issues raised, and fallacies indulged in by writers on both sides.

Willis Bund, in his "Celtic Welsh Church," has avoided this pitfall, and has fully and clearly traced the peculiarities of the emoluments of the ancient Welsh Church. Now tithes, which

* "The dioceses were very small, compared with their extent in modern times. One bishop generally had the care of one large town and its immediate suburbs; when the name of the diocese was not "dioikesis" (diocese) but "paroikia" a word not expressing, as of late times, a single congregation or parish, but implying the whole town and its immediate neighbourhood: that is, such a precinct or district as a single bishop could govern with the assistance of his presbyters."—Browne on the Articles, p. 553.)

THE MASTER'S COLLE
POWELL LIBRARY

loom so largely upon the visions of the English ecclesiasts, are an excrescence as far as the endowments of the Church in Wales are concerned. There is positively no trace of tithe in the Ancient Celtic Church of Wales. Even the Black Book of St. David's, which describes with great minuteness the possessions of the Bishop of St. David's as late as the first quarter of the *fourteenth* century, makes no reference to tithe. The silence of this book, however, must not in itself be over-estimated. Mr. Bund, in his introduction to his edition of the Black Book of St. David's, says :—

"The Black Book of St. David's." Edited by J. W. Willis Bund. p. vi. 1902.

"There is nothing in the MS. to show how the see of St. David's became possessed of her estates. If, as is probable, a Liber Menevensis, similar to Liber Landavensis, existed, it has not come down to us. . . The *Black Book* takes things as they were in 1326, ignoring all that went before. There is no notice of the contest with Llandaff as to the Teilo Churches in Ystrad Towy : they are treated as part of the property of St. David's. . . . There is nothing in the *Black Book* to throw any light on the history of the endowments of the Welsh Church, very little as to the endowments themselves ; the expression "tithes" does not even occur in it. It gives the impression that certain of the known endowments of the See were not in existence in 1326 ; probably such an impression is erroneous, as the MS. is not a record of the property, nor of the manors, of the See of St. David's, but is strictly confined to the lands and rents of the Bishop, not of the possessions of the Church. It could be wished that it included all the endowments of the Cathedral, but is does not purport to do so. . . . Any inference, therefore, that can be drawn from it, as to no mention being made in it of any particular endowment, is not reliable."

I personally fail to see that this argument is conclusive, as Bernard, two centuries before this, clearly appropriated, as bishop, emoluments, which would, almost to a certainty, have included tithes, had any then existed. I mention this omission, however, simply because it adds force to the cumulative argument. What is still more to the point is, that the Book of Llandaff, which belongs to a period of nearly two centuries earlier, namely the *twelfth* century, and which shews that at that time the See of Llandaff claimed, with great minuteness of detail, possessions of which it was asserted it had been robbed, has not a direct allusion to paro-

"The Book of Llandaff" regarding Tithes.

chial tithes. Mr. Bund states, that in order to substantiate its claims, it "purports to shew the additions from time to time the monastery made to its territories and possessions under the rule of each successive head of its house, first, in the time of the abbots, then of the bishops," and "specifies over and over again the lands, waters, villages, and rights which were granted to the Church, *but it does not mention or allude to tithes.* . . . It is true that there are some places in the Codes where tithes are mentioned, but it does not seem from these passages that tithe was a fixed legal payment to the Church, but, as far as it was paid, it went to the king, or chief of the tribe."

"The Celtic Church of Wales," by J. W. Willis Bund, p. 383

In confirmation of this, it should be stated that in Hywel Dda's Laws—the earliest MS. extant of which is as late as the last quarter of the twelfth century, when Norman influence had already begun to appear in almost every detail of Welsh life, and seventy years after Bernard had been appointed Bishop of St. David's—tithes are mentioned; but, observe, *never as a direct payment to the clergy, but to the king.** We are compelled to go to a later date than Hywel Dda's Laws, or the Black Book of St David's, or the Book of Llandaff, for a clear reference to tithe as an enforced legal charge to the clergy of Wales. The fact, therefore, that in England it was an Act in 970 A.D., in the reign of Edgar, according to Selborne, that first enforced the payment of tithe by civil law, while it may be interesting enough in dealing with the endowments of the Church of England, has no more to do with the question of the emoluments of the Celtic Church in Wales than the passing of a similar Act of Parliament in the moon would have! It is altogether beside the mark. The whole trend of the Welsh Laws pertaining to tribal and national life, is against the possibility of Celtic bishops and others having ever been in the receipt of tithes. This is in striking harmony with the fact that while there is abundant evidence of the Celtic monasteries and their "Llans" being endowed with numerous gifts of land, as far back as the fifth century, there is not a single reference to tithes in the numerous instances which history supplies. As Mr. Willis Bund says: "The Celtic

Hywel Dda's Laws—no reference to tithes for clergy.

*The fact that a reference is made to a third of the tithe of the King going to the priest of the household, cannot be claimed as being in any way related to the parochial tithes, which were introduced later.—D.D.

"The Celtic Church of Wales," p. 44.

Church in Wales was originally supported by the products of the lands which formed the possession of the tribe of the saint. When the old tribal system was broken up, and each Church became independent, a greater or less part of the tribe lands fell to its share. Even to the present day, in many parts of Wales, the revenue of the different benefices is largely derived, *not from tithes, but from glebe.*"

The alienation of tribal possession difficult.

The fact is, that the tribal system of possession was such that no chief could bequeath anything that belonged to the tribe, or alienate any tribal possession, such as land, or tithe, or land product, without the assent of the tribesmen. Nor did this apply to the chief only. Every tribesman had his tribal privileges, especially a right to share in the property of the tribe, in return for which he vested his property in the tribe. These rights could not be alienated by the tribe, or the tribesman. They were mutually binding. The tribesman could not, if he wished, withdraw his property, or, indeed, himself, from the possession of the tribe, and if tithe had, even in some exceptional way, been bequeathed by anyone, a tribal record, at least, would have been made of the mutual consent of the tribesman and his tribe, and the silence of the Books of St. David's and Llandaff, and of the ancient Welsh Laws, regarding such, is quite inexplicable. All sorts and conditions of Church possessions are mentioned in these books; but, with the one striking exception of tithe, to which modern Church defenders attach such sacredness.

In Wales tithe in its inception had nothing to do with the Church.

Willis Bund very pointedly and unequivocally scouts, as far as Wales is concerned, both the antiquity and sacredness of tithes as Church possessions:—"Whatever may have been the origin of tithe elsewhere, in Wales the payment had nothing in its inception to do with the Church, or with any right of the Church. It was the tribal liability of the tribesmen to support the chief, a liability which, in time, was commuted into a fixed payment, and which the Celtic clergy persuaded the Welsh chiefs to grant them in certain cases. These payments, from certain localities, the Latin clergy extended, and made universal, and claimed to be paid as of right, and ascribed them to a divine origin. But the Welsh tribesmen, who originally made them, and probably the Welsh chieftains, who granted them to the Church, had never heard of tithes or Melchisedec, and, if they had, would have scouted the

idea that the payment they made for the *gwestfa* had anything to do with either. Until the misplaced ingenuity of the Latin clergy *distorted these ancient payments into tithes*, no idea ever existed in the mind of the payer, or receiver, that these payments were made for the support of a priest or a church—still less of a parochial clergy. . . . Wales has suffered much from having the ideas of the Celtic Church manipulated by Latins, and through Latin channels; but the case in which she has suffered most, is probably in the change of her old tribal payments into a system for the support of the class who destroyed her tribal system."

Bund's "Celtic Church of Wales," pp. 409, 410.

Subsequent to the date of the Laws of Hywel Dda, but before the Conquest of Wales by Edward I., there is mention of tithes, which, however, were payable to the monasteries—and not to the clergy—in connection with the new ecclesiastical system from England, which was being forced on Wales, and which was utterly dissimilar, and even hostile to the Celtic Church system. Thus the legal imposition of tithes, as a religious duty, was thrust upon Wales by English ecclesiasts, as the ancient Church of the land was gradually undermined and gutted; until at last, when the Conquest of Wales was completed by Edward I., the suppression of the ancient Church of Wales was practically accomplished, and an alien Church, with its alien polity, spirit and methods, took possession of its buildings and its endowments. The result is that even now only £160,000 of tithes in Wales and Monmouthshire are given annually to the clergy, while the greater bulk of what formerly belonged to the Latin monks of the monasteries, were given by Henry VIII. to his favourites, and are in lay hands to this day.

Ecclesiastical Tithes, of Latin origin introduced into Wales with the destruction of the Welsh Church.

In this connection it is important to emphasize, what I have already stated, that many quotations on tithes given from English authorities, while they apply to England, have no application whatever to Welsh tithes. The English tithes are essentially different in their origin and history from the so-called Welsh tithes, which are comparatively modern developments of what formerly sprang from the tribal system of "*Y gwestfa*," or the old liability of tribesmen to supply their chief with so many days' foodstuffs and so many nights' shelter. Lord Selborne, who is quoted by the defenders of the sacred origin of tithes as a kind of "second Daniel come to judgment," makes this very clear when he writes:—"If I may

Lord Selborne in dealing with English Tithes confessedly "passes by" the British Church. "Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes" p. 100.

seem to pass by the history and the labours of the original British Church, it is not because I am insensible to the interest of the subject; but because the great question of ecclesiastical organization, customs, and laws with which I wish to deal are Anglo-Saxon, not British." Precisely! That is quite explicit. But in dealing with the subject of tithes, so broadly stated in the title of his book, it is to be regretted that Lord Selborne did *not wish* to deal with the old British, as well as the Saxon, aspects of the question. He, for some reason, found this quite inopportune or inconvenient for his purpose. That being so, it is simply adding insult to injury to quote Lord Selborne as an authority on the sacredness of Welsh tithes. Lord Selborne evidently felt that they required separate treatment.

Blackstone on English Tithes.

1 Commentaries Bk. I, ch. ii. pp. 372, 373. Ed. 1765.

The same objection applies to citing Blackstone, and others, when speaking of the introduction of the tithe system in England, as authorities regarding the history of tithes in Wales. But even in England, the story of the origin of tithes, and of the uses for which they were at first to be devoted, is conclusive against the present appropriation of them. Blackstone, for instance, states that "at the first establishment of parochial clergy, the tithes of the parish were distributed in a fourfold division: one-fourth for the use of the Bishop, another for maintaining the fabric of the Church, a third for the poor, and the fourth to provide for the incumbent. When the Sees of the Bishops became otherwise amply endowed, they were prohibited from demanding their usual share of these tithes, and the division was in three parts only." Wharton, also, in his "Defence of Pluralities," refers to the fourfold, and then to the tripartite divisions of tithe in England.

Dr. Milman's History. v. iii., p. 87.

Dr. Milman, too, in his History, speaking of tithes, and having endorsed the tripartite division, adds: "The bishop sometimes claimed a fourth. The bishop was the arbiter of the distribution; he assigned the necessary portion for the church. This tithe was by no means a spontaneous votive offering of the whole Christian people. *It was a tax imposed by Imperial authority, conferred by Imperial power.* It had caused one, if not more than one, sanguinary insurrection among the Saxons. It was submitted to in other parts of the Empire not without strong reluctance." Again, Tomlinson, in his "Law Dictionary," under "Parson," refers to

Stat. 15, Rich. II., c. 6, and adds :—"It seems the parish were frequent sufferers . . . by withholding those alms, for which, among other purposes, the payment of tithes was originally imposed, and, therefore, in this Act, a pension is directed to be distributed among the parishioners, as well as sufficient stipend to the vicar."

Tomlinson's Law Dictionary under "Parson."

The Rev. H. W. Clarke, B.A., in his "Past and Present Revenues of the Church of England," is explicit about the origin of tithes in England. He tells us that "there is not one word about tithes in the laws of Ethelbert or Ina, and that the first payment of tithes in England appears in the Second Book of 'Archbishop Theodore's Penitentials' (668-690 A.D.); whereas he cites Bishop Stubbs and Mr. Haddan, as well as Wasserschleben, as his authorities for stating that the provisions connected with tithes were: (1) The priest was not compelled to pay tithe. (2) No force was to be put on the poor as to tithes or anything else. (3) It was not lawful to give tithes except to the poor and strangers, or laymen to their own churches. This third provision, as Mr. Clarke observes, was a prohibition to the clergy against giving the laity presents out of tithes. Bishop Stubbs, dealing with the third provision, also states that, "Tithes were mentioned by Theodore . . . in a way that proves the duty of making the payment; *but not the right of the clergy for the sole use of them.*" Dr. Stubbs, in his Constitutional History, says: "The legislation of the Witenagemótes of Ethelred bore the same mark; a third portion of the tithe that belonged to the Church was to go to God's poor, and to the needy ones in thraldom."

"A History of Tithes." By Rev. H. W. Clarke, B.A. p. 20.

Haddan & Stubbs' Councils, v. iii, p. 174

Dr. Stubb's Constit. His., p. 228. — Ed. 1874.

Bishop Stubbs puts the obligatory payment of tithes at an earlier date than Lord Selborne. He says: "In 787 tithe was made imperative by the Legatine Councils held in England, which, being attended and confirmed by the kings and ealdormen, had the authority of Witenagemots."

Ibid, p.

Mr. Clarke writes: "In England, the *custom* of giving tithes as free-will offerings gradually began . . . in the eighth century. The clergy were then quite satisfied with such voluntary offerings. A few only at first gave them; then they gradually increased, by means of the pressure exercised in the confessional box, in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, until it finally

became *customary* for *all* to pay their tithe offerings. The usual question put by the priest from the Confessional box was, 'Did they duly pay their tithes to God?' . . . The custom in England gradually changed into a common right, and it was by virtue of this common right that people were legally bound to pay tithes. There was no positive law made for their payment. But there is their injustice. When the custom commenced, the population of England and Wales could not have exceeded 160,000, with less than a quarter of a million of acres under cultivation, and yet this *custom*, originating under the above circumstances, generated a common law right, which legally bound all subsequent generations to the payment of predial, mixt and personal tithes. I call this bare-faced injustice . . .

Clarke's History of Tithes p.

"A Defence of the Church of England," pp. 149-152. Ed. 1887.

"The parish system, which began in its germ about A.D. 686, was completed about A.D. 1200. . . . From the beginning of the thirteenth century tithes became payable to the parsons of the parishes *by common right*. But monasteries had to shew their title to them either by grants or by prescriptions." He adds: "The parochial incumbents commenced about the beginning of the fourteenth century to close upon all the tithes, and to ignore the claims of poor or church fabric upon these revenues. So at the period of the Reformation, the incumbents claimed to have a prescriptive right to *all the tithes*."*

"Distablishment and Disendowment: What are they?" by E. C. Freeman, M.A. p. 18. 1874.

Dr. Freeman, speaking of tithes generally, says: "The tithe can hardly be said to have been granted by the State. The state of the case rather is that the Church preached the payment of tithe as a duty, and that the State gradually came to enforce the duty by legal sanctions . . . (It) enforced the decree of the Church by the secular arm."

Tithes alien to the customs and polity of the Celtic Church.

These statements, made by recognized authorities, may surely be accepted as an accurate record of the origin of legal tithes in England, and, as an honourable burial by competent historians (in this case, in unconsecrated ground, and without hope of resurrection), of the old pious fraud, which has done yeoman service for many years, of tithes being the voluntary gifts of "pious ancestors."

*Lord Selborne shows a very marked bias in calling into question the authenticity and antiquity of "Constitutions" of King Ethelred, and three Collections of Canons, in which the threefold division of tithes is mentioned, and to which ecclesiastical writers have attached great importance.—D.D.

But conclusive as all this is regarding legal tithe in England, it has no bearing upon tithes in Wales, save as the English system in Norman times, and subsequently, was forced upon the more primitive tribal system of the Ancient Celtic Church. The Welsh case is much stronger than even the English, as the Latin tithes enforced in England, which have been shewn to have been originally intended for the poor as well as for the clergy, never formed, even in that limited sense, the endowments of the early Welsh clergy. They were altogether alien to the customs, polity, and spirit of the Celtic Church.

The story of the further misdirection and misappropriation of the old tribal religious possessions is a long and tedious one; but the first serious interference was when Henry II. by, what the late Dean Edwards called, "a gross act of ecclesiastical jobbery," appointed Bernard, his Queen's Chancellor, as Bishop of St. David's.

Bernard destroying the Celtic Monastic System at St. David's, and substituting for it the Latin Church. This the beginning of the end.

Bernard at once, with the subtle cleverness of an intriguing lawyer, and the unscrupulous daring of a royal favourite, altered the whole character of the monastery of St. David's. He made it consist, not as it always had done of *the tribe* of the saint, but a definite number of canons, and prebends, to each of whom certain duties were assigned, in return for which a fixed payment was made, out of the common fund, the balance being appropriated by the bishop himself. Out of this he granted a certain amount for the maintenance, of what was needed in the circumstances, namely a military body, whose duty it was to protect the bishop against his plundered and resentful flock. "Having called the new body into existence," writes Canon Bevan, "he was able to retain complete control over it as the head of the chapter. . . The office of dean, indeed, was never instituted at St. David's, and to this day the bishop has the stall assigned to a dean in addition to his throne." Thus from the ancient tribe with its bishop, Bernard evolved a lordly episcopate and a subservient chapter rich in emoluments, but ever pliable, and tied hand and foot to the high authority of State. In return for this they were allowed ample licence in relation to the sheep of their care. The holder of each prebend, or canon, when desirous of increasing his income, could not go to his bishop for a part of the residue he held, but he was quite at liberty to go and compel

"St. Davids," by Canon Bevan, p. 64.

the people who were on the land allotted to the prebend, or canon, to pay tithe, as already enforced in England. Thus the Latin Chapter took the place of the Celtic Monastery. Canon Bevan also writes: "Bernard encouraged the monastic system in his diocese, as witnessed in the Establishment of Cistercians at the old monastery at Whitland. . . . The introduction of the feudal tenure into Church properties by Bernard was a doubtful boon to the Church. The monasticism introduced into Wales by the Normans was a very different type from that of the old British Church. The latter was rude, laborious, self-supporting, uniform in its rule and simple in its aims; that of the Latin Church of the twelfth century was cultivated, wealthy varied in its forms, and ambitious of influence both in church and State." Thus, too, began the enforcement of tithe as an ecclesiastical payment, and as time advanced the claim was assiduously extended by the bishops and Latin monks, who were sent to Wales by the Norman kings, and a divine origin was devoutly ascribed by those who enforced the payments! Those dignitaries never have from that hour until now handed over those tithes to the working clergy; but have kept them for themselves from age to age, as a sacred usage and precious inheritance, handed down from Melchizedec—as their recipients in unctious tones, and with unblushing cheeks, tell us to-day!

Ibid, pp. 65, 80.

It was after the death of Llywelyn, in 1282, and the Conquest of Wales by Edward I., that Peckham, in 1284, visited the Welsh dioceses, and having urged upon Edward I. that everything that was contrary to the order and custom of the English Church should be suppressed in the Welsh Church, he subjected it to Latin rule, and, assuming the supremacy over the Welsh dioceses, enforced the payment of tithes in dower and mortmain by tenants, and thus brought ecclesiastical rule in Wales into line with that in England in every possible detail.

No Parochial clergy in the Celtic Church. "The Celtic Church of Wales." By J. W. Willis Bund, p. 365

All this is the story of a most deliberate suppression of the leading characteristics of the ancient Church, a substitute of the Latin system for the Celtic, a consequent alienation of ancient payments from their original purposes, and the imposition of additional burdens, pre-eminently the tithes, by Latin bishops and monks, on a helpless people. All this, too, has ostensibly been done from a pious reverence for Melchizedec and his tithes, which has

survived all the nepotism and plunder, and is repeated to us to-day in pious phrase and sanctimonious tones, which are far less tolerable than even the inflicted tithe.

Indeed the advent of Bernard to St. David's, and with it Norman rule increasingly into the Celtic Church, was the beginning of a system of oppression and plunder, which continued throughout the centuries until modern times. This prevailed in all the dioceses, by the barons in Llandaff chiefly, and by the bishops and chapters in St. David's, and bishops, chapters and family connexions in St. Asaph; Bangor being the most exempt.

Concerning Llandaff, Newell writes: "It would appear that Robert Fitz Hamon, the conqueror of Rhys ap Tewdwr . . . transferred the endowments of Llantwit and Llancarfan to Gloucestershire churches. To St. Peter's, at Gloucester, he gave the Church of St. Cadoc, at Llancarfan, with Treygof and Penhon.* To his great foundation of Tewkesbury Abbey he also made a considerable grant of Welsh eccesiastical property, which included Llantwit. A charter exists, wherein Bishop Nicholas of Llandaff, whose tenure to the See extended from 1153 to 1183, confirmed to Tewkesbury Abbey, the churches and benefices which it held in his diocese; and no better proof of this can be exhibited of the wholesale spoliation of the Welsh Church for extraneous purposes. It enumerates the Church of St. Mary, Keyrdif, with the Chapel of the Castle, the Chapel of St. John, the Chapel of St. Thomas, the Chapel of Raht (Roath), &c., &c."† Then follow the names with details, of twelve other churches and chapels, with lands, tithes, and belongings, all of which were handed over to Tewkesbury Abbey. "It is a goodly list," adds Newell, "and the monks of Tewkesbury may well have been thankful to their munificent benefactors!" How those monks in their day, like the Gloucestershire clergy in ours at Church Defence Meetings, must often have enlarged upon the saintliness of those "pious ancestors," who, with a self-obliviousness, into the exact nature of which they never cared to pry, provided for them the funds upon which the monks thrived long, and upon which the clergy have thrived longer! On the other hand,

"History of The Welsh Church," by Rev. E. J. Newell, M.A. pp. 176, 177.

*Clarke, "Carlæ de Glamorgan, I., 7-9. Treygof is now Treguff Place, and Pennon is a village near Llancarfan.

†St. John's. Cardiffe V., St. John Baptist, cap. to St. Mary's, Cardiff, but now, since St. Mary's Church was ruined, it is made the parish Church. Ecton's "Thesaurus," third ed., p. 506.

the clergy of Glamorgan would not look in the same direction for this pious ancestry. They would think of the piety of their old Celtic ancestors, who had originally given of their substance to the Celtic Church, but whose gifts had been ruthlessly plundered by a man whom they could never mistake for a saint, and had been handed over to monks and clergy who belonged to the Church who was the bitterest foe of theirs, and toward which their ancestors had shewn utter distrust and unqualified disapproval. Those clergy of Gloucester *to-day* thrive on those stolen possessions, and yet at Church Congresses turn up the whites of their eyes as they utter their pious horror of any Disestablishment Bill that would deprive them of the gifts of "the pious and self-denying sons of the Church." I solemnly ask: Can religious Pharisaism and cant well reach a greater height—or, rather, a lower depth—than this?

The result of the supernatural liberality of this "pious ancestor," Fitzhamon, was that Llantwit Major continued for a long time to exist as a cell, as the remains prove, and this was probably true of Llancarfan, "because the properties of the ancient Celtic Monasteries at those centres had been taken by force and given to Anglo-Norman monks and clergy in England." Yet no one in high places in the English hierarchy cried out spoliation *then!* That was reserved for our time when a Disestablishment Bill is to be introduced. What greater proof could be given of the quickened sensibilities of the Established Church in these later days!

The Celtic Church hostile to Rome.

The Celtic Church, moreover, as long as it retained its native liberty—that is prior to, and for a long time after, the advent of Augustine as the Pope's ambassador to Canterbury—was essentially evangelical. This is proved by the reply of the bishops to Augustine, to which we have already referred, and the subsequent glimpses we have into their conflict with Rome concerning Easter, the ordinance of baptism, the tonsure, and especially celibacy. The Celtic monasteries and churches were mission centres, and their clergy were not celibates, but married men. Newell reminds us that Sulien, one of the most distinguished bishops of St. David's in the pre-Norman period, had four sons, and that Rhygyfarch, the biographer of St. David, succeeded Sulien his father in 1089, and that Daniel his third son, was the nominee of the chapter, when King Henry and the Archbishop of Canterbury

Newell's History of the Welsh Church. pp. 169-170.

set him aside in favour of Bernard. He also says that Rhygyfarch, too, was married, and had a son called Sulien, after his grandfather, and that a certain Cuhelm, "the son of a bishop," is mentioned in a memorandum on the margin of the Book of Chad, and adds: "This prevalence of marriage among all ranks of the clergy was scandalous in the eyes of the Norman ecclesiastics. . . . But herein the Welsh Church was only preserving the ancient usages.'

On this question the Welsh bishops never gave way. In spite of persistent and angry protests from A.D. 1105 to A.D. 1358, from Rome and Canterbury, they maintained their right to marry, and denounced celibacy. This largely accounts for the dislike which Gildas cherished towards them, and accounts for his abusive and biassed account of the clergy of the Welsh Church. The fact is that the Celtic Church of Wales withstood the anger and the denunciation of Rome in this respect more persistently and successfully than any other church. Their Christianity, all the more because it was inseparably associated with their tribal system and relationships, would not tolerate the thought of having the celibacy of the Latin monks foisted upon them.

Bishop Davies' letter to Archbishop Parker.

Bishop Burgess, of St. David's, in his "Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese," in 1812, following the lead, as already intimated, of Archbishop Usher, and Bishop Stillingfleet, and having referred to "the Old Chronicle" quoted by Bishop Davies in his Letter to Archbishop Parker, adds that the document mentioned proved that the ancient Welsh Bishops "would hold no communication with the Saxons, when converted by Austin, *because* "they corrupted with superstition, images, and idolatry, the true religion of Christ" (p. 14).

Celtic Protestantism.

Another indication of their Protestant attitude is to be found in the names of their most ancient churches, which were severed from the monasteries, and ultimately became the mother churches of the more modern parishes. They do not indicate any dedication to saints until the eighth century, when the first St. Michael appears to have been dedicated.

Names of her most ancient churches.

The earliest churches were called apparently after the bishop associated with them, as in the case of Llandeilo, which

then belonged to Bishop Teilo. On the contrary, none of the oldest churches are called after Mary. Llanfair ("Mary Church," or "Saint Mary's") became known in Norman times; but it was in every instance either beneath the shadow of a Norman castle, or under the patronage of a Norman lord. The worship of the Virgin was imported into Wales, after the Norman Conquest, by the Latin bishops, monks, and clergy, which the Norman kings, through Canterbury, thrust upon an unwilling, but helpless people.

Professor Rice Rees, in his "Essay on the Welsh Saints," endorses this. Speaking more generally, he says: "The saints to whom the greatest number of churches are dedicated are St. Mary the Virgin, St. Michael, and St. David. The churches dedicated to St. Mary are most numerous in the English and Flemish possessions. Churches in honour of St. Mary were erected principally in the twelfth century, by the influence of the Cistercians, the most prominent order in Wales, who have an especial devotion to the Blessed Lady. St. Michael was a great favourite in Wales: the churches dedicated to him are stated to have been built during the first half of the ninth century. There are 40 churches and 13 chapels dedicated to St. David, and of them not one* is in North Wales."

An Essay on the Welsh Saints," p. 125.

Her dislike for Canterbury.

But deep as was the dislike of Popery among the Welsh bishops, it was not deeper than their aversion to Canterbury. Evangelical and democratic as the old Celtic Church was, and therefore bitterly as it resented all Papal interference, it "feared not so much," as Dean Hook expresses it, "the distant Bishop of Rome as the establishment of an irresistible Pope at Canterbury." The battle between them, therefore, was long and determined. Mr. Willis Bund reminds us that the chief account of the struggle between the two churches "is derived from the Saxon monk, who hated with all his true Saxon hate the Celt and all his works," and minimised the points in dispute, so as ultimately to vindicate the claims, and assert the complete triumph, of the Latin over the Celtic Church. Other, and weightier matters than the exact date of Easter, the form of tonsure, and even the mode and subjects of Baptism, were at stake—although these, indeed, involved far-reaching principles.

Dean Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury." Vol. I. p. 13.

*There is one exception given later, namely, a Church near Festiniog.—D.D

As Mr. Willis Bund well expresses it : " The Christianity of the Celts and the Latins was based on ideas diametrically opposed, as to the object, the nature, and the mission of the Church . . . *on subjects still unsettled*—whether the Church is supreme over the State, and whether the clergy are supreme over the Church. The precise form the contest took in this particular instance was the struggle between tribal independence and foreign supremacy; but the principle was whether the Church was supreme over the State " (p. 3.) He might also have stated, that another principle was involved, namely, whether either the State or the clergy were to rule over the Lord's heritage? This is precisely the same contention as that which now exists between the State Episcopal Church and the Free Churches of the land. Mr. Bund adds : " Whatever was the precise date when Christianity was introduced among the Celts in Wales, Scotland, or Ireland, this Christianity had one characteristic feature. Its development was local, without any external aid, and without the exercise of, or the pressure from, any external authority. . . . Each Celtic community, probably each Celtic tribe, did in matters ecclesiastical what in their own eyes seemed to be right. No central power or authority was in existence able to dictate to them belief in a particular dogma, or to compel their observance of any particular rite or ceremony " (p. 3). What finer conception than this can we have to-day of liberty of conscience, and perfect freedom to worship God, and expound His will, according to the dictates of our own heart and mind, " none daring to make us afraid "—God, and God alone, being our witness and our ultimate Judge !

"The Celtic Church of Wales," p. 3.

Ibid.

Each Celtic community independent of outside authority in matters, dogma, rite, or ceremony.

This is confirmed by Archdeacon Pryce : " Many considerations minister to the conclusion that it is to the Greek Colony of Lyons that Britain owes the first foundation of its Church. It is a noticeable feature of early Christianity that, down to the time of Tertullian, it was essentially Greek in ecclesiastical organization, language and forms of thought. (1) The Churches, each under its own bishop, were uncontrolled and welded together by no external authority beyond the obligation involved in the confession of one Lord, one faith, and the one baptism."

"The Ancient British Church." By Archdeacon Pryce, pp. 55 & 56.

CHAPTER II.

Wales and the Ancient Celtic Church:

Their United and Strenuous struggle for Existence Ending in Defeat.

Christianity extinct in England.

IT should be remembered at the outset here, that the Mission of Augustine to Æthelbert, and the establishment of the Christian Church in his kingdom, was at the time when British Christianity was quite extinct in England. The British Church which had been planted there had been totally uprooted by the Saxon hordes that over-ran and devastated the land. Heathenism was supreme. We learn from Chaucer that :—

Canterbury Tales—"The Man of the Law's Tale."

> "In all that land no Christian durstë rout;
> All Christian folk had fled from that country
> Through Pagans that conquered all about,
> The plagues of the north by land and sea.
> To Wales had fled the Christianity
> Of Oldë Britons dwelling in this isle;
> There was their refuge for their meanëwhile."

Wales, to the degree that she kept at a distance the conquering hordes who laid waste the fair fields of England, maintained her early faith in its purity and vigour, and sheltered in safety her primitive Christian Church; and it is this fact that is too often ignored to-day by the defenders of the Anglican Church in Wales.

"The Ancient British Church." By Rev. W. Lindsay Alexander. pp.187-188.

In "The Ancient British Church" Rev. W. Lindsay Alexander gives an admirable bird's-eye view of the condition of things after the departure of the Romans: "The British Church suffered severely. It suffered as well from the incursions of the Scots and

Picts as from the progressive conquest of the country by the Saxons. By neither party were the Christians likely to be respected. By the former, who were still votaries of Druidism, they would be hated as apostates from that faith; and by the fierce worshippers of Odin and Thor, they would be despised as the followers of a religion which made no merit of prowess in battle, and held bloodshed in abhorrence. By both their churches were plundered and burned, their ministers cruelly slaughtered, their schools and monasteries subverted, and their congregations dispersed. They suffered, likewise, from the jealousy of the unconverted part of their own countrymen, and it would appear also from dissensions among themselves. Notwithstanding all, however, the British Church never became extinct. On the contrary, even in the most troubled period of the Saxon conflict, it not only continued to exist, but was signalized by the appearance amongst its members of men whose names have come down to the present day, and whose services have been embalmed in the traditions and poetry of their nation. Amongst these were Dubricius, bishop of Llandaff; David (or Dewi), bishop of Menevia, and since called from him St. David's; Teilo, the successor of Dubricius at Llandaff, and of David as Primate of Wales; Illtyd, or Iltutus, whose school at Caerworgorn was for many generations considered the great centre of ecclesiastical learning in Britain; Asaph, who presided over the diocese which has ever since borne his name; and many others. . . . Whilst Wales thus retained the blessings of Christianity, the rest of England was overspread once more with the darkness of a cruel and polluting idolatry."

But what the Pagan Saxons could not do, Augustine, as the Pope's legate and Archbishop of Canterbury, attempted very early to accomplish, as we have already seen. The refusal of the Welsh bishops to bow the neck to the supremacy of Rome, Canterbury, and the Saxon king, was the beginning of a persistent and relentless hostility on the part of Saxon kings and the Archbishops of Canterbury against the Welsh Church, which I shall proceed to record.

In A.D. 607, Aethelfrith, the heathen King of Northumbria, defeated the Welsh at Chester, driving them across the Dee, and consummated his victory by slaughtering 1,200 out of the 1,250

"Short History of the English People." By J. R. Green, p. 20. Ed. 1895.

Bede, b ii., c 2.

Celtic monks of the great monastery of Bangor Isgoed, because, as Bede tells us, they were praying against him. "Aethelfrith," writes Green, after Bede, "watched the wild gestures and outstretched arms of the strange company as it stood apart, intent upon prayer, and took the monks for enchanters. 'Bear they arms or no,' said the King, 'they war against us when they cry against us to their God,' and in the surprise and rout which followed the monks were the first to fall."

This is all the more significant because, according to Brut. Tysilio, when Augustine applied to Dinooth (Dunawd), Abbot of Bangor Isgoed, to assist him in preaching the Gospel to the Saxon pagans, Dunawd declined to co-operate in preaching "to that barbarous people who had slain the parents of the Britons, and robbed them of their just and hereditary property." There is no doubt that a profound suspicion of the motives of Augustine and the Saxons underlay this emphatic refusal. In this connexion it must not be forgotten that formerly, when the Britons were abandoned by the Romans, they were so hard pressed by the Picts and Scots, that they accepted the proffered assistance of the pagan tribes of Saxony, who, speedily taking advantage of the weakness of those whom they came to protect, took possession of their lands, and drove the resisting Britons into Wales and Cornwall. It is not surprising that Dunawd was not free to welcome co-operation now, since the Saxons, who had proved so treacherous in the former "co-operation," had not spared a single British sanctuary where they had conquered.

"Hist. Memorials of Canterbury." By Canon Stanley, p. 34. Ed. 1855.

This slaughter was also claimed by Bede and others as a divine judgment upon the Welsh in direct fulfilment of the prophetic warning of Augustine to the Celtic bishops, that if they refused to conform to the customs and rule of his Church, and join in preaching to the Saxons, they would receive the punishment of death at their hands—a "malediction against them," as Dean Stanley expressed it, "which sanctioned, if it did not instigate their massacre by the Saxons*. Thus this was bitterly remembered for cen-

* Bede writes:—"To whom (Dinoth) the Man of God, Augustine, is said, in threatening language, to have foretold that in case they would not join in unity with their brethren, they should be warred upon by their enemies; and if they would not preach the word of life to the English nation, they should at their hands undergo the vengeance of death."—Eccles. Hist. B. II., c. 2.

There is nothing, however, to shew that Augustine had personal connection with this slaughter at the time of its occurrence. Indeed, it is asserted that he had died before it occurred.—D.D.

turies as a typical illustration of the relentless hatred of Saxon kings, heathen and Christian, and of the subtle conspiracy of Latin ecclesiasts to extirpate the nationality and extinguish the faith of the Welsh people; while the monks, whose lives had been so ruthlessly sacrificed, were remembered and revered as martyrs for their country and their religion.

The refusal of the Celtic bishops to join hands with Augustine in evangelising the Saxons was abundantly justified by the treatment which the Scots, who responded to the invitation, received at the hands of Wilfrith. The co-operation of the Scots had only been sought as a means to an end, as the Celtic bishops had quickly foreseen. When, therefore, their "evangelising" work was done, conformity with Rome was ultimately pressed persistently upon the Scots as the disciples of Columba. At length the matter was brought to a final issue at the Whitby Conference in 664. There Wilfrith defeated Colman on the question of Easter, Oswiu, the King, deciding in favour of the superior authority of Peter over John, on being assured by Wilfrith that Peter had the keys of the kingdom—no such claim having been made for John, still less Columba—adding that he feared Peter would shut him out at last if he decided otherwise!

Rev. W. Hunt, M.A., gives the sequel in words which cannot be suspected of being biassed in favour of the Scots: "Colman seeing that his party was defeated, left Lindisfarne with such of his monks as were Scots by race, and, taking with him part of the bones of St. Aidan, returned to Iona, and four years later went back to Ireland." He then adds: "During the 29 years that the mission had lasted it had done great things for the English people, for the Scots offered themselves willingly when there was urgent need of men to carry on the work begun by the Romans. . . . The Scots and their disciples worked with a single aim, refusing all wealth and honours for themselves, and when the victorious party came into possession of Lindisfarne they found only the church and a few rude huts, for Aidan's monks had neither silver nor gold nor flocks. Nor did they even accept land for building monasteries, unless it was forced upon them. They were loved and reverenced by the people. . . . While, however, the Scots were admirable missionaries, their work was done, for the Church in England was passing out of the mission stage and was begin-

"The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest." By W. Hunt M.A. p.p. 112-115.

ning to need organization, and the means of orderly development. These they could not have supplied. The Scots' system, such as it was, lacked diocesan arrangement, and its episcopate was subject to the Abbot of Iona and his monks. . . . The victory of the Roman party was decisive as regards the future relation between the English and Roman churches. The English of early times regarded the Roman See with dutiful affection. The Gospel had first come to them from Rome. . . . The very existence of the Church as a national institution was at stake at Whitby. So long as the schism lasted it was only in name the church of the nation; it could not have become a really national church if its ministry had depended on the rule of a monastery of Scots. The Church planted by Gregory and Augustine had become confined within narrow limits. At the beginning of 664 Northumbria and the Midlands, the whole of the Kingdom of Mercia, were under the ecclesiastical direction of the mission from Iona; the South Saxons and the people of the Isle of Wight were still unconverted; the Church in Wessex remained isolated, and its Bishop, Wine, held communion with British bishops. Only Kent and East Anglia were in full communion with Canterbury and Rome; only so far did the authority extend of him who was the successor of Augustine, the Archbishop of the English. The withdrawal of the Scots' mission was followed, four years later, by the obedience of the whole of Christian England to the see of Canterbury. The Church became in reality as well as in name the Church of the English people." It is important to note, however, how it then became the "Church of the English people," as subsequently it became the Church of England and Wales—namely, by the suppression of those who differed from it, and taking possession of their property and the accumulated results of their diligent toil and arduous labours. Here, too, we see illustrated not only the haughty pride, but also the worldly pomp, of the Anglican as contrasted with the stern simplicity of the Celtic Church. It represents all the difference between a hierarchy and a Christian brotherhood. The Anglican Church has always been the former, the Celtic Church was always the latter.

"The making of England." By John Rice Green, M.A. LL.D. vol. ii, p 88, 1897.

Referring to this event and its ultimate issue, Green writes: "From the Channel to the Firth of Forth the English Church was now a simple religious body within the obedience of Rome,

and the time had come for carrying out those plans of organization which Rome had conceived from the first moment of Augustine's landing."

It will be seen that the Scots were only tolerated as long as they rendered valuable services as missionaries, and that when once the harvest was reaped the Church of Augustine asserted its superior authority and exclusive right to the keys of the kingdom. Inseparably associated with this assumption, as Mr. Hunt freely states, was not only its connexion with Rome, but also its diocesan episcopacy.

Judge Johnes, moreover, emphasizes the difference between the Celtic and Latin Churches, and the unscrupulous treatment the former received at the hands of the latter from the hour in which the Celtic bishops resented the haughty assumptions of Augustine. He writes: "The History of the Cambro-British Church is the record of one unremitting wrong. Planted in primitive, if not apostolic, times she was the last among the western nations to bend to the usurpation of the Romish hierarchy; and it is the opinion of the eloquent Mons. Thiérry that her attachment to the cause of ancient religious liberty made her ever after an object of persecution to that fearful despotism. From the day that the Cambrian ecclesiastics renounced the claims of her emissary, the monk Augustine, every enemy of Britain became an ally of Rome! She blessed the ferocities of the Saxon pagans; she hallowed the aggressions of the Norman with her consecrated banner (Thiérry). In later times she sanctioned the power assumed by the Norman Kings of England of filling all the dignities of the church with their own creatures . . . that dreadful oppression so beautifully described in the petition of the Welsh princes, which set the brand of sacrilege on the most exalted chivalry, and turned even the rights of religion against the expiring liberties of their land."

Judge Johnes "On the Causes of Dissent," p. 144.

Thiérry.

The Celtic Church and Religious Liberty.

The story of the stealthy, but resolute advance of Canterbury, in accordance with the directions given at the outset by Pope Gregory to Augustine, namely, to "endeavour to get control over the Welsh bishops, and so subject them to his rule"—a policy of aggression readily adopted by Augustine himself, and as zealously pursued subsequently by Laurentius and his successors—may be briefly told by the statement of the following facts.

All along, the undeviating aim of Canterbury was, in the

The united energies of Rome, Canterbury, and Westminster directed against the Celtic Church of Wales.

first place, to have control of the four Welsh Sees, and thus secure the strategic keys to the whole situation. The united energies of Rome, Canterbury, and Westminster, were directed persistently and relentlessly towards this end. After many determined efforts success was apparently secured, when, according to the *Liber Landavensis*, the first consecration of a Welsh bishop by the Archbishop of Canterbury, viz., that of Gucaunus, or Gwgan, as bishop of Llandaff by Dunstan (A.D. 982). The three following consecrations were also at Llandaff, but so far, be it observed, *without the assertion of supremacy by Canterbury.* Canterbury was content to wait until a firmer foothold could be obtained. But, meanwhile, it should be noted that, as Mr. Clarke states, "the territory now included in the County of Monmouth was the back door into Wales through which Canterbury entered." It entered where the Lords-Marcher had wrought havoc, and secured a measure of submission. Hand-in-hand with the Norman went the Latin ecclesiast, and upon the success of the former depended the advance of the latter.

The first consecration of a Welsh bishop by the Archbishop of York was in A.D. 1092, when Hervé was made Bishop of Bangor. This, too, was the first instance of any encroachment upon the independency of the dioceses of North Wales by the English Church. This promotion was due to the personal favour of William Rufus. We learn from Giraldus Cambrensis, and Roger of Hoveden, that this interference with the independence of the Celtic Church in North Wales, was so bitterly resented by the people, that Hervé had to be protected by arms, and that after four years of practical siege he had to escape for his life. As a matter of fact, he fled in A.D. 1109 for protection to Henry I., who sympathized much with him, but was helpless in the face of the Welsh resistance to Norman appointments for Welsh Sees. So far there was *no assertion of supremacy by Canterbury.*

The *first* acknowledgment of the Supremacy of Canterbury.

Bernard appointed to St. David's on undertaking to renounce the Primacy of Wales.

This ultimately came, however, when, in the year 1107, Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury consecrated Urban, a Norman, to the See of Llandaff, who, in return, swore *canonical obedience and submission to Canterbury.* It will be seen that once again Llandaff was the See which the advanced guard of Canterbury reached first in its aggressive march on the Welsh Church.

This prepared the way for the next step eight years later,

when Gruffydd, the Bishop of St. David's, who had already been formally deprived of his primacy—as *primus inter pares*—died. The great opportunity of Henry II., and of the Archbishop of Canterbury had arrived. It was then in succession to Gruffydd, that Ralph, the Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated the notorious Bernard, the Queen's Chancellor, at Westminster, to please the Queen. He was ordained priest on Saturday, and consecrated bishop on Sunday, on his undertaking to *renounce his right as Primate of Wales, and swear canonical obedience and submission to Canterbury.*

"The Church in Wales." By Principal Bebb.

All this was done in defiance of the clergy of St. David's, who had elected Daniel, one of the four sons of Bishop Sulien, the predecessor of Gruffydd. The historians of St. David's state : " The See of St. David's was too important a prize, and too sure a means of influence to be neglected by the aggressive Normans, at a time when their influence in South Wales was threatened by a new aspirant, who had already been protected from their influence by the power of their Church (H. Lhwyd, p. 176). Foreign bishops had already been placed in the Sees of Bangor and Llandaff, and King Henry determined to confer that of St. David's upon one of his own nation, ' contrarie to the minds of all the clergie of Wales, who were alwaies accustomed to choose their own bishop ' (H. Lhwyd, p. 175)."

"The History and Antiquities of St. David's," by W. Basil Jones, M.A., and E. A. Freeman, M.A., p. 270, ed. 1856

These historians emphasize the fact that St. David's on this occasion " was too important a prize to be neglected." It still maintained its primacy as the oldest See, although true to its Celtic origin, it did not exercise authority over the other Sees. Yet it was remembered that St. David's was the successor of Caerleon, and that as far back as 519 A.D., the See was removed from Caerleon to St. David's. To have the primacy renounced, and to have canonical obedience sworn to Canterbury, by the occupier of that See, was a greater triumph than any other See could make possible.

Indeed, this *coup* was the culmination of a steady and determined advance, for practically, as Newell reminds us, the Church in South Wales had already " lost its independence, for Urban of Llandaff, although not imposed so violently upon his diocese as was Bernard, was apparently equally the nominee of the Normans."

"The Church in Wales," By Principal Bebb.

"In the North," says Principal Bebb, of Lampeter, "more difficulty seems to have been raised. The first Norman Bishop of St. Asaph was not appointed till 1143, when Gilbert was consecrated at Lambeth." Another attempt on the See of Bangor was made in A.D. 1120, when David, a Welshman by birth, was consecrated by Archbishop Ralph. Mr. Newell gives a clear and interesting account of the succession to the Sees of Bangor and St. Asaph at this time: "In 1140 the contest about the See of Bangor began anew. Meurig was elected duly by the clergy and people of Bangor, and was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he had made the usual profession of obedience. He scrupled, however, at first to take the oath of allegiance to King Stephen, saying: "There is a man of great religiousness among us, whom I hold as my spiritual father, and who was the archdeacon of David, my predecessor, and he has forbidden me to take this oath.' But he seems to have been easily induced to waive his scruple. Unfortunately for him, the princes of North Wales, Owen Gwynedd and Cadwalader, were more tenacious of their liberties. And they called upon Bishop Bernard of St. David's who had shortly before applied to Pope Innocent II. for a pall, and, therefore, might be supposed to be a champion of the liberties of the Welsh Church . . . to oppose Meurig, who 'had entered the Church of St. Daniel, not by the door, but by some other way, life a thief.' The Chapter of St. David's, in a statement laid before Pope Eugenius III., a few years later, complained of three consecrations of Welsh Bishops by Archbishop Theobald, and asserted that Meurig had removed the staff and ring from the Church by stealth."

Newell's "History of The Welsh Church," pp. 189-191

See Jones and Freeman's "St. David's," Wynne's edition of Caradoc's History of Wales, A.D. 1124, and Archdeacon Thomas's "St. Asaph," p. 33

It is important to note here that Bernard, at the death of Henry II., to whom he had given vows of submission to Canterbury, repudiated further submission, and thenceforward became the sturdy champion of the rights of the See of St. David's against the assumptive claims of Canterbury. Bernard at length instituted a suit in Rome against the claims of Canterbury. This proved to be a stubborn fight. It was pleaded by Archbishop Theobald that Bernard had himself professed canonical obedience, which Bernard qualified. Pope Eugenius III., in 1148, decided against *Bernard* on this ground, but fixed October 18, 1149 for investigating the

claims of the *See*; but before the end of the year 1148 Bernard was dead, and the postponed trial was never held. This conflict made a great impression on the Welsh people. We thus find Bernard lauded by the Welsh Chronicle as "a man of extraordinary praise, and piety and holiness," and as one who died "after extreme exertions upon sea and land toward procuring for the Church of Menevia its ancient liberty." This complete change of front on the part of Bishop Bernard, is doubtless capable of various explanations. The striking fact, however, remains. In spite of the fact that he was a Norman ecclesiast, he, in the later years of his epicopacy, bitterly and persistently resented the supremacy and interference of Canterbury. Did not this keen-sighted man plainly see that the only hope of the Church in Wales was in its independency?

"Brut. y Tywysogion," Rolls ed., p. 177

Mr. Newell, in summarising the gradual advance of Canterbury, says: "In 1143 the See of St. Asaph succumbed to Canterbury, when Gilbert was consecrated as its bishop by Archbishop Theobald and made the usual profession of obedience. If the letter of the Chapter of St. David's can be trusted, it would seem that he was lawfully elected by the clergy of St. Asaph to be consecrated by Bernard of St. David's, but that the captivity of Stephen caused a delay, which gave Theobald an opportunity of advancing and enforcing his claim. . . . In 1152 Gilbert was succeeded by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was also consecrated by Archbishop Theobald, and who never ventured to go to his See, and who died in 1154 at Llandaff. The next Bishop of St. Asaph was Richard, and he was followed by Bishop Godfrey, who was driven away from his diocese 'by poverty and the hostility of the Welsh,' somewhere about A.D. 1164, and finally resigned his bishopric at the Council of Westminster in 1175. His successor, Adam, was an Englishman, a canon of Paris, and a disciple of the celebrated Peter Lombard, whose cause he pleaded at the Third Lateran Council in 1179. He died far away from his diocese at Oxford in 1180, after which no bishop was appointed for three years. . . . The See of Bangor was in worse case than that of St. Asaph, for, after the death of Bishop Meurig, in 1161, a controversy about the See raged for 16 years. Owen Gwynedd would not receive a bishop consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Archbishop Thomas (commonly

Newell's "History of the Welsh Church," pp. 191, 192

called Becket) with the full approval of the Pope, refused to acknowledge any other. . . The clergy of Bangor . . having failed in their attempt to evade the Archbishop's authority by a crafty compromise, and probably suspecting the foreign prelate of St. David's, they sought for a new metropolitan in the sister Church of Ireland. . . Archbishop Thomas . . got the Pope to issue a mandate to the clergy of Bangor to elect a bishop within two months. . . . But Owen and the clergy heeded neither the Pope nor the Archbishop, and continued their attempt to find a new metropolitan in Ireland. . . . When Baldwin afterwards made his progress through Wales, he found the tombs of Owen, and his brother Cadwalader before the high altar of Bangor Cathedral, and admonished the bishop to seize a proper opportunity of removing Owen's body, because, on account of his marriage (with his cousin) he had died excommunicated by the blessed martyr St. Thomas (Gir. Camb. Itin. Kamb. ii. 8, Op. vi. 133)—an injunction which was secretly carried out. Whether a Bishop of Bangor was consecrated in Ireland is not quite certain, although from one passage in the letter of the Archbishop, it seems very probable; but in any case, no bishop was recognised by Canterbury till some years after the death of Owen Gwynedd, when Archbishop Richard consecrated Guy to the See of Bangor, after he had made the usual profession of canonical obedience May 22, 1177.

"Thus ended a contest which recalls the days of the British Abbot
Ibid, p. 193 Dunawd, and the Irish Bishop of Dagan, when all the Celtic Churches were united to resist the encroachments of Canterbury and Rome. For the defiance of Rome was virtually as emphatic as the defiance of Canterbury, and the attempted alliance with the Irish Church indicated a disposition to recur to that Union of Celtic Christendom which had at one time threatened Roman supremacy in the west."

This testimony from a historian whose sympathies are essentially Anglican; but who, in fidelity to facts, states them as he has done in preceding quotations, is of additional value as an exposure of the miserable fallacy, repeated *ad nauseam* by Church Defence speakers, regarding the friendly intercourse which resulted in the happy union of the Celtic and Anglican Churches—a union in which the "uniting force of Christianity was at work!"

Even as late as 1164 the national spirit, fanned and spread by Owen Gwynedd, made it impossible for Norman bishops to remain in North Wales, as illustrated in the fact that Godfrey was driven away from the See of St. Asaph, and that Bangor still resolutely rejected the nominees of Canterbury for that See.

The Norman Kings and Lords-Marcher.

It is necessary here that we should take a bird's-eye view of the relationship between the Norman King, the Lords-Marcher and Wales. Near the close of the reign of William the Conqueror, the Normans, having subdued England, threatened Wales. The Conqueror sent his bravest lords and greatest favourites to the Welsh borders. Taking advantage of the divided state of the country, they made rapid advance, and gradually spread themselves over the land, securing, among other important districts, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Pembroke. Yet Wales, as a whole, was still unconquered. The Normans possessed most of the broad and fertile plains; but the Cymry were firmly lodged in the mountain fastnesses and carried on a guerilla warfare with the Norman barons, who, in return made reprisals. At length, both found it mutually advantageous to live peacefully together.

The Welsh Bards and Norman Barons.

The result was, that the Welsh benefited largely by their intercourse with the Normans, and the Normans, in return, listened wonderingly to the thrilling accents and rich cadences of the Welsh bards as they sang of their ancient heroes, or recited the marvellous romances of the Red Book of Hergest, or Mabinogion, until the Normans, with their exceptional power of assimilation, enriched their own literature (and through it the literature of Europe) with the most striking of the Arthurian legends, as their fathers before them had enriched it with the songs of Charlemagne and Roland.

Geoffrey of Monmouth.

In 1147 Geoffrey of Monmouth produced in Latin his so-called History of the British kings. Professedly this history was merely a translation of a British Chronicle. Geoffrey of Monmouth was the *nom de plume* of Gruffydd ab Arthur, who became Bishop of St. Asaph in succession to Gilbert. He was consecrated by Archbishop Theobald, but never ventured to go to his See. He died in Llandaff in 1154. In this history he produces many legends concerning early times, with a fertility of imagination, characteristic of

more than one bishop of that See. Those legends, as legends, have been distinctly worth preserving. Those of Brutus, Sabrina, Lear, and Cordelia, Belinus and Brennus, are all given by Geoffrey, and have supplied Shakespeare, Milton, Spencer, and others, with valuable material for some of their greatest and most charming productions. He was the first to make Arthur known in the Latin tongue. Under the patronage of Queen Maud, his work found favour at the English Court, and subsequently throughout Europe. A French translation in verse soon appeared. All this was side by side with the three tales, namely, "The Lady of the Fountain," "Geraint and Enid," and "Peredur," from the Mabinogion, which first, as already stated, passed into Norman, and, ultimately, into European, literature.

Gruffydd ab Cynan and Gruffydd ab Rhys.

Gradually, however, the relationship between the Welsh princes and the Norman barons became once more strained, old feuds were revived, and hostilities frequently broke forth. In these circumstances Wales once again found a champion in two brave sons of the soil, namely, Gruffydd ab Cynan and Gruffydd ab Rhys. These pressed the Norman lords so hard that they had to petition the aid of the King of England.

The first song of Meilir.

The history of the nation at this time, as indeed at all other subsequent periods, is vividly reflected in its literature. The first song of Meilir celebrated the heroic deeds of Gruffydd ab Cynan. Thus was the clang of arms immortalized by the song of the muse, and the bravery of the warrior consummated by the rapture of the bard. And the Welsh needed all the inspiration to patriotic courage that the spirited song of the bard could impart; for English king and Norman lords were at this time united against them in deadly conspiracy.

Henry I. fostering Welsh jealousies.

Henry I., in every possible way, sought to suppress Welsh national sentiment. He, with great insight, found out the weakest point in their national defence, namely, mutual jealousy. He thus skilfully fostered their jealousies, and governed Wales by setting one prince against the other, thereby crippling them for any united action in the defence of their homes and country.

At the death of Henry I. there was a great revival of national enthusiasm in Wales. Under Stephen they largely reclaimed lost

districts from the Normans. But the ascension of Henry II. became a signal for stern and continuous conflict between him and the Welsh princes. This was very equally maintained on both sides, the losses of the English King being at least as great as those of the Welsh princes. He then gave up all further interference with an air of dignity and disgust, and, making the best of a bad job, was satisfied with the nominal submission of the Welsh chieftains.

Henry II. and the Welsh Chieftains.

Meanwhile, however, as we learn from Giraldus Cambrensis, he sought to do by the aid of the clergy what he had failed to do by the use of the sword. As we have seen, he appointed Norman Bishops in Wales. They became the king's allies in Wales and by every possible means fostered his designs, in the conquest of the nation, and the subjugation of their Sees.

Henry II. and his Episcopal allies.

In the year 1176, the Bishopric of St. David's became vacant, and Giraldus Cambrensis was elected by the Chapter to the vacant See; but the King, prompted by Canterbury, vetoed the appointment. Giraldus, with his indomitable persistency and courage, went on a pilgrimage to Rome to solicit and, if possible, to obtain the intervention of the Pope. He was, moreover, sustained by the now historic petition to the Pope from the Welsh Princes, in which, among other things, they complained :—"The Archbishop of Canterbury sends us English bishops, ignorant of the manners and language of the land, who cannot preach the word to the people, nor receive their confession, except through interpreters. And since these bishops that are sent to us from England do not love us, or our land, they do not seek the good of our souls . . . they do but very rarely fulfil the duties of their office among us. And whatever they can take from us, by just means, or unjust, is carried away by them into England, and squandered in the monasteries that are given them by the King of England." The result was what might be anticipated. The Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the King of England, understood each other. Giraldus returned empty-handed, and a Norman nominee of the King, Peter de Leia, was consecrated the Bishop of St. David's. In 1196, the See being once more vacant, Giraldus was again elected by the Chapter, but the Archbishop of Canterbury again refused to sanction their choice.

Giraldus Cambrensis selected for St. David's. Petition of the Welsh Princes to the Pope.

Meanwhile, Giraldus Cambrensis had, with great enthusiasm, engaged in a holy crusade throughout Wales.

With the death of Owen Gwynedd the resistance of North Wales became less pronounced. The great leader of the hopes of the nation had disappeared from the scene; thus, when Baldwin came to Wales upon his crusade, he succeeded in deceiving the Welsh nation and diverting its energies in uselessly sacrificing its young life, by appealing to its religious zeal and solicitude for the Holy Land, crushed under the foot of the Saracen.

"History of St. Asaph" p. 36, by Archdeacon Thomas.

Archdeacon Thomas writes: "This tour was undertaken with the two-fold object of preaching the Crusade, and of bringing the Welsh clergy into conformity with those of England." I personally would say that the weakening of the Welsh nation for all purposes of resistance to Westminster or Canterbury was the primary object.

Henry II.'s Appeal to Welsh religious sentiment.

In 1188 Henry II., following up his policy of conquering Wales by appealing to its religious sentiment through the agency of the clergy, suddenly conceived an intense enthusiasm for the Crusades, which seemed to amply compensate for his past indifference in this direction. The striking part of it all was, that he turned a devout eye toward Wales as the portion of his realm which should supply the greater part of the enthusiasm, money, and blood required for so difficult, costly, and deadly an undertaking. He, therefore, sent Archbishop Baldwin, attended by English officials, on a crusade to Wales to obtain men and material for a crusade to Palestine. The piety which characterised such an act of consecrated service on the part of the English King was, unfortunately, made less divine by the political sagacity which suggested it. This holy crusade of preaching throughout Wales supplied primarily a plausible pretext for the king's devout representatives to survey carefully the whole country, and to take note of all, secondly, to prepare the way for a conscription which would be levied upon the inhabitants, and thirdly, to bring the Welsh Church into conformity with Canterbury, and thus to accelerate the subjection of Wales to England. In this way, under the name of religion, the flower of the Welsh nation were pressed, with an unctiousness which could only be equalled by the accompanying cunning and rigour, into a service which found its con-

Baldwin's Crusade throughout Wales.

summation in the majority of instances, in their ultimate slaughter on the plains and hillsides of Palestine. There their bones bleached under the burning eastern sky as a token of the piety of the English King!

Accompanied by Giraldus Cambrensis

Baldwin, clad in all the trappings of the highest office in the hierarchy, and fortified by the command of the King and the bulls of the Pope, and attended, moreover, by the enthusiastic and eloquent Giraldus Cambrensis, the most popular clergyman in Wales, and said to be allied, on his mother's side, to the royal blood of his country, appealed irresistibly to a highly emotional and enthusiastic people, when he dwelt upon the dire humiliation of "the daughter of Zion" being bound in chains and outraged by the godless Saracen. The Catholic zeal of Giraldus outran his discernment in this campaign, from which, however, he obtained material for his "Itinerary." In all this sorry business he unwittingly became the tool of the King and of the Archbishop of England, and the decoy of the bravest youth of Wales to their death.

Baldwin, taking every possible advantage of this celebrated Crusade journey, now visited St. David's when Peter was bishop. This marks another "important stage," as Mr. Newell expresses it, "of the absorption of the Welsh dioceses into the Church of England."

Thus the Welsh national spirit, which Henry II. failed to crush, was easily diverted from its proper channel; and Welsh blood and treasure were prodigally spent on the fields of the once Holy Land, yea, whittled away in a fanatical crusade, when they should have been more wisely used in the defence of home and country.

Llywelyn the Great

After this, the nation, having been bled well-nigh to death, relapsed into a state of hopeless inaction, unmoved by any ambition, or, at least, unable to give expression to it, for more than a century. But once more, when utter subjugation seemed at hand, the Welsh people, with a recuperative energy so characteristic of them, produced yet another heroic leader in the person of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, or Llywelyn the Great, probably the greatest prince that ever guided the destinies of Wales. His appearance was greeted, and, indeed, heralded, by thrilling poetic strains, culminating in a mighty outburst of song, which roused the whole nation

into a white heat of patriotic fervour. Every deed of bravery was celebrated in glowing verse, and became the inspiration to yet greater deeds. Llywelyn responded by his dashing enterprise and fearless attack. He thus became the incarnation of the nation's hope. Rivalries and jealousies died down in his presence. His court was crowded by bards, and his halls rang with their rapturous eulogies; while all through the camp peripatetic bards sang their martial strains to the thrilling accompaniment of the ever-welcomed harp. The mysterious prophecies of Merlin the Wise were also repeated with oracular emphasis. Cadwallon, the last Celtic conqueror, it was said, lived on, and would take up his nation's cause. Medrawd and Arthur, too, would suddenly return to the land and people they loved so well, and fight over again the battle of Camlan. Llywelyn was the pledge and promise of that approaching millennium when the ancient prophecy would be literally fulfilled: "Their Lord they shall praise, their speech they shall keep, their land they shall lose—except wild Wales."

Llywelyn's Supremacy over the Welsh Princes.

Llywelyn thus soon gained supremacy over the other Welsh princes, and, uniting them in one grand confederacy, led them on in the struggle against England. The marriage of Llywelyn with the natural daughter of John seemed at one time to promise greater peace with England; and this, in fact, led to a closer relationship between the Welsh princes and the English Government. Yet the genius of the Welsh nation was for independency, and Llywelyn was the living expression of that national yearning. Llywelyn, in 1212 (or possibly in 1216) pledged himself to common action against the King of England in a treaty formed with Philip Augustus. The original document is now in Paris, and has been recently re-produced and translated with an interesting introduction by T. Matthews, M.A., of University College, Cardiff. Thus, in spite of the natural tie with John, through his marriage, he allied himself heartily with the barons in that great movement which resulted in the signing of Magna Charta, among the signatories of which is to be found the name of Llywelyn.

"Welsh Records in Paris," by T. Matthews, M.A., pp. xv, 3, 57. 1910.

Death of Llywelyn the Great.

By Llywelyn's death, the withdrawal of his unique and powerful personality resulted in the renewal of those dissensions among the remaining Welsh princes, which have ever been the bane of Welsh history. Once more the nation was almost paralyzed by these sui-

cidal jealousies and endless conspiracies. At length, however, Llywelyn ab Gruffydd, the grandson of Llywelyn the Great, who had inherited much of his grandfather's genius and courage, resolutely adopted his policy, and thus became the new hope of his country, and the leader of her hosts. Precisely as his grandfather had sided with the English barons in wresting Magna Charta from King John, so he vigorously adopted the cause of the barons of his day in their war against Henry III. He and his people joined Simon, and shared the brunt of the conflict, and Llywelyn further sealed the friendship by becoming betrothed to the Earl's daughter.

Llywelyn ab Gruffydd "Ein Llyw Olaf."

In 1262 we find another appeal to Wales for a Holy Crusade in the form of a Bull from Urban IV. to the Bishop of St. David's, containing great demands on the Bishop, in particular, and Wales in general. In this, too, the clergy are commanded to use all their influence and authority in inducing people to volunteer themselves for the Crusade, the chief inducement being that those who responded nobly would be granted full pardon for their sins. Indulgences were also promised to the limit of "one hundred days'" plenary indulgence. Wales, at this time, by the pressure of adverse and trying circumstances, through the hostilities of the Kings of England, and the designs of the Archbishops of Canterbury and the Pope of Rome, was largely at the mercy of Rome in its efforts to maintain its independency. The struggle of Giraldus Cambrensis for the primacy of St. David's had ended in defeat 60 years before the issue of this bull, yet, as Mr. Matthews says, "it is perfectly clear from the bulls, that the Holy See regarded the diocese of Menevia as the premier See of Wales."

"Welsh Records in Paris," by T. Matthews, M.A. pp. xviii, 7, 59. 1910.

Ibid, p. xx.

The sequence of events and the quick succession of fulminating excommunications from the Archbishops and bishops against Llywelyn at this time reveal the active part which the Church took in vanquishing the last Prince and hope of Wales.

In Haddan and Stubbs' "Councils," &c., we find a long list of excommunications against Llywelyn and his faithful followers. Following the abortive attempt of the Welsh bishops, who had excommunicated Llywelyn at the bidding of the Archbishop Peckham, we find five English Bishops joining the Welsh Bishops in issuing a joint warning that unless he ceased within a fortnight to disturb the English kingdom, and gave adequate satisfaction, he

Councils, vol. I, p. 510

would draw upon himself all the curses of the Church. This
Ibid, p. 517 having failed, we find Canterbury call upon York to excommunicate Llywelyn throughout that province, as he had already been excommunicated throughout the province of Canterbury. All this having failed, Peckham came forward, in the garb of a friend, to
Ibid, p. 526 congratulate Llywelyn upon the peaceful issue of his quarrel with the Bishop of Bangor, and offering his services to secure an amicable settlement with the subordinate dignitaries and officials
Ibid, p. 533 of that diocese. On the 28th of the following March, the King commanded Peckham to excommunicate the Welsh rebels. This
Ibid, p. 534 resulted in the charge from Peckham to all his bishops to excommunicate Llywelyn. This was followed by another charge on the 20th of May, to the Bishop of London and the other bishops, to
Ibid, p. 535 republish the excommunication against Llywelyn. On the 6th of June, Peckham's special and significant message to the Bishop of
Ibid, p. 536 St. Asaph was, not to be in too much haste to excommunicate the Englishmen who burnt his church. On August 16, 1282, his mes-
Ibid, p. 538 sage to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, namely, that he gave him authority to release all the Welsh that made peace with the King of England, completed the series of onslaughts.

It was this man Peckham that, under the semblance of a well-wisher, and with the false tones and assumed smile of a friend, offered his services to Llywelyn as an intermediary between him and the King of England, and travelled from Rhuddlan to Aber and back ostensibly with this pious intent! And when Llywelyn showed signs of misgiving, Peckham further assured Llywelyn that such was his love for the Welsh that he was prepared to act contrary to the commands of the English King, and to give Llywelyn secret concessions! All the while the plans and preparations of the English King for conquest were maturing, and all the flattering attentions of Peckham were but a part of the deadly scheme.

When Llywelyn repudiated the sinister suggestions of Peckham, not being so impressed with his "generous efforts" on behalf of Wales, as was the present Bishop of St. David's at Rhyl, in 1891, the Archbishop appeared in his true character when, on December 14, 1281, in his last missive from Rhuddlan, he pronounced Llewelyn and his people to be excommunicated and accursed.

From the same Castle, 10 days later, the King sent a command to his confederate, the Archbishop, to meet him at Northampton on the 20th, with all his bishops, abbots, and priors, to help him to subdue the Welsh once for all.

What wonder that Llywelyn in his unequal conflict with Church and State, beset alternately by threats and flatteries, by sword and excommunication, during a period extending over many years, exclaimed : " We cannot take up arms for our country, but forthwith, however righteous and noble our cause may be against these Normans, we are threatened with the fulminations against our souls of the Church and its bishops. We have thus, according to them, no choice but to live slaves, or to die damned." This statement of the alternatives presented, was as true as it was scathing !

Edward I. and the death of Llywelyn.

On the accession of Edward I. all this was remembered. Llywelyn at this time was the King of one-half of Wales, namely, the northern. He steadfastly refused homage to the English King. This led to many serious disputes, culminating in the great rupture of 1276, when Llywelyn was declared to have forfeited his feifs. In 1277 he was forced to surrender the eastern part of his dominion to the English Crown, and to do homage for the rest. Five year later (1282) David, the brother of Llywelyn (who had been a favourite of Edward, and had been created Earl of Derby, and united in marriage to the daughter of the Earl of Ferrers, with extensive estates in both countries; but who more recently had protested in vain against the conduct of some royal officers) headed a revolt, in which he persuaded Llywelyn to join, and seized Hawarden Castle. This rising was at length, with great difficulty and loss, suppressed. David was taken prisoner, and put to death as a traitor ; while Llewelyn "Ein Llyw Olaf," fell amid conditions which, according to Welsh tradition, added intense pathos to the close of his heroic life, and supply another humiliating illustration of the fact that in all ages Wales has owed its most crushing defeats to its internal jealousies and discords. They also justify largely the conclusion arrived at by Giraldus Cambrensis, who bitterly mourned this fatal failing on the part of the Welsh people, that had they been *inseparable*, they would have also been *insuperable*.*

* "Si igitur inseperabiles fieri (esse) vellent, et insuperabiles valde fieri possent."

Against these infinite odds, Prince Llywelyn and his faithful warriors had fought their long, stern battle, challenging every step, and only giving way inch by inch until, at length, by dint of conspiracy and deceit, Llywelyn was trapped and slain, as I shall shew later, and the last hope of Wales vanished.

Conquest of Wales.

Deprived of their great leader, the Welsh were now subdued, and the Conquest of Wales was complete. Yet, this only affected directly the dominion of Llywelyn and other princes who had withheld homage from the English King. The other portions held by Edward's Welsh allies, and Norman barons, remained in much the same condition. These continued to be separate territories; but with an increasing tendency to closer union with the Crown, and were called Marcher Lordships, until Henry the Eighth's great Act of Union came into force, by which Wales was completely incorporated with England. Throughout the land, however, English law was gradually introduced; new castles were built, to secure submission; boroughs were founded and shires formed, with a sheriff and coroner in each shire.

CHAPTER III.

From the Conquest to the Reformation.

THE Conquest of Wales by Edward I., and the consequent "Statute of Wales," formulated at Rhuddlan in 1284, mark the beginning of a new era in Welsh history. The past neglect of the Welsh princes, as a rule, to form and develop Welsh institutions, thus exposing themselves to the encroachments of English customs and usages, especially through the Church, prepared the way for the more rapid Anglicising process which followed in the wake of the subjugation of Wales by Edward, more than any special effort on his part did in that direction.

The Anglicising process in the wake of the Conquest.

Just as the first song of Meilir celebrated the heroic deeds of Gruffydd ab Cynan in wresting Gwynedd from the Normans, so the heroic poetry of later and greater bards, such as Gwalchmai and Cynddelw, Elidir, Gwion, The White Bard of Brecon, and Seisyllt, were inspired chiefly by the bravery of Gruffydd ab Cynan, Owen Gwynedd, Rhys ab Gruffydd, and Llywelyn the Great. By the Conquest of Wales by Edward I. the Welsh muse was silenced for more than a generation; not because, as tradition has it, all the bards were massacred by Edward, although they doubtless shared the dread fortunes of war; but because their spirit was broken by so crushing a calamity, and their hope concerning country and kindred had died out of them. For a generation, at least, the Conquest left the bards without a theme. Amid this universal silence that brooded over Wales after the fall of its last Prince, the plaintive Wail of Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Goch ("Gruffydd the Son of the Red Magistrate"), after his vanquished hero, sounded alone as a sad and depressing monotone, finding even no echo amid the ruins of a nation's hope. The heart of the Welsh people told its

Gwalchmai, Cynddelw, and other bards.

The Wail of Gruffydd after the last Prince of Wales.

sad tale in that plaintive song, and, for a long season, it had nothing more to tell.

A grand succession of bards. Meilir, Gwalchmai Cynddelw, Howel ab Owain Gwynedd, and Madawc ab Gwallter.

The poets of this period were, in the main, of a noble order. Meilir was exquisitely tender and withal possessed fine religious emotions. His son, Gwalchmai, excelled in his appreciation of the beauties of nature—a style of poetry that has never since died out in Wales. His Ode to Owen Gwynedd on his victory of Tal y Moelfre, partly translated by Gray in "The Triumph of Owen," is full of beauty, and is as forceful and terse as it is elegant. Cynddelw, in the latter half of the century, has a religious tone; but is verbose, obscure, and unwieldy Howel ab Owain Gwynedd, a prince of noble parts, was one of the finest poets of the period. He ignored alike complicated metres and erratic conceits, had a great love of nature, a noble estimate, and delicate appreciation of woman, and withal a profound sense of refined humour. But when all has been said about these, the deeply devout poem of Madawc ab Gwallter must perhaps be pronounced the best of its kind, and Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Goch, whose plaintive wail rent the air on the fall of Llewelyn, the last prince of the Welsh nation, must probably, all things considered, be accepted as the best poet.

Mutual hostilities between the Welsh and their neighbours.

Before the Conquest there was a constant exchange of hostilities between the English king, his Norman lords, and the Welsh princes. When the king did not invade Wales and carry away plunder, the Welsh chieftains, by way of returning past compliments, paid the unhappy Marches sudden and unsolicited visits, and generally took their departure more burdened with this world's goods than when they arrived. It was evidently at this interesting period that the Englishman concluded that "Taffy was a Welshman," and that "Taffy was a thief"—an estimate which could not, we fear, be more appropriately applied to any one than the Welshman of the period—with the sole exception of the Englishman of the period.

It is, therefore, in vain that we look to the English writers of the time for a just and even-balanced representation of a typical Welshman. That the writers of the period should have written extravagant things about the Welshman's dishonesty is what might perhaps be expected. It is doubtless difficult for an ordinary

man, who has had his cow stolen, to write an unbiassed opinion of the nation to which the thief belongs, even though he himself may have mysteriously appropriated to himself his neighbour's horse an incredibly short time before.

Referring to the struggles of this long and weary period, during which there was no truce, and scarcely a pause, Dean Edwards, in his letter to Mr. Gladstone, says: "After gallantly struggling for more than 200 years . . . Wales, on the death of Prince Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, and the capture of his brother David, was finally subjugated to the Crown. In A.D. 1283 Edward I. . . . making the religion of the Cymry an instrument for ensuring their political subjection, caused that simultaneously with his own triumphant progress as conqueror throughout the Principality, Archbishop Peckham should make a solemn visitation of the Cymric dioceses, and formally take possession of the vanquished territory." "The Church of theCymry." Letter of Mr. Gladstone 1870.

No one can study the times of the Norman kings without coming to the conclusion at which every Church historian has arrived, that, so far as Wales at least is concerned, kingly rule and priestly aggressiveness went hand in hand.

"A small country like the Principality," said Mr. Watkin Williams, "was obliged to give way, and from the period of Henry II. down to the reign of Henry VIII., bishops were appointed by the Kings of England to the Church in Wales, who were willing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury. By a combination of fraud and collusion between the Pope and the King of England, the ancient Church in Wales was subjected to, though not otherwise united with, the Church of England, and in the reign of Henry VIII. this was confirmed by Act of Parliament." Mr. Watkin Williams in the House of Commons 1870.

In the following pages we shall see how amply this severe indictment is justified by facts.

It was thus that the Government and the English Church entered Wales and made their advance step by step, gaining gradually a foothold in the country, and, as a consequence, in the Sees and livings in the Welsh Church. The Latin ecclesiast came in the track of the plundering Norman invader. The most painful badge of conquest which the Welsh nation had to bear was the presence of Norman favourites, consecrated by Canterbury, in the four Welsh Sees, and these, in turn, appointing clergy who neither "Some Plain Thoughts for Plain Thinking People." Central Church Committee for Defence, &c.

A Tract "To the People of Penarth by the local clergy," for the last Election (1910.)

knew the language nor had a spark of sympathy with the people of their charge. This, forsooth, was the way in which, we are assured to-day by pious Churchmen, who are shocked at the sacrilege involved in the separation of the Welsh Sees from Canterbury, "a friendly intercourse was gradually established between the two (churches), which eventually blended them into one church and one nation"! A more impudent and bare-faced travesty of facts could not be presented, and all in the interests of the Church, the Disestablishment of which, we are solemnly assured, "would mean the public negation of religion on the part of Wales"!

We shall now review with some detail, and at the cost of some unavoidable repetition, how this "friendly intercourse" continued and found its happy consummation in, what is called so unctiously, the ultimate "blending" of the two "into one church"! "In the year 1115," said Mr. Watkin Williams, in his speech to the House of Commons in 1870, "Henry II., by the assistance and connivance of the Pope, and, I do not think I shall go too far, if I say, by the combination of fraud and violence, appointed to the See of St. David's, which was the Archbishopric of Wales, a lawyer and courtier, one Bernard, upon the understanding that he should forego the rights of the Archbishop of Wales, and subject himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury. This Bernard accepted those conditions, and acted upon them for several years; but being disappointed in a matter of preferment, he asserted the rights of his See, and actually instituted a suit in the Ecclesiastical Law Courts to support his title; but he died suddenly before it could be decided."

Mr. Watkin Williams—House of Commons, 1870.

This is but another side-light on the tender wooing and cooing and fond caressing which resulted in the happy union formed: the threatened dissolution of which brings so many tears to the eyes of our Lord Bishops of St. David's and St. Asaph in these later days!

The pious assurance of "a friendly intercourse" between the two Churches, ending in Union, disproved by Church historians.

The whole thing is supremely farcical in the light of the past relationship of the two Churches, until the smaller was "absorbed" as Dr. Bright expresses it, "into the body" of the greater. According to him, this was done piecemeal, the first half—namely, the South Welsh—according to his estimate, being absorbed in A.D. 777, when South Wales, after hard and unsuccessful struggle with Rome, accepted its computation concerning Easter, realizing that

this was but a token of gradual submission to Rome itself, North Wales having already capitulated on the same question in A.D. 755. This step in the steady advance of Rome for the Supremacy was all the more serious because the Welsh Church felt that it was but a prelude to defeat in its strenuous struggle with Canterbury in maintaining the independency of its Sees. The battle was long and stern, but the Welsh Church was steadily worn down in the unequal conflict; and the advance of Rome, and then of Canterbury, sustained by the temporal power of England, was unyielding and relentless. Dr. Bright's exact words, in referring to this collapse of the South Welsh, and their ultimate absorption by the stronger church after long resistance, are, that they were absorbed "*under strong pressure* in 777 A.D.* *It was then, and not till then*, that the English Church, which had been founded and organised without the aid of the British, *absorbed the latter into its body. It was thus, and only thus*, that it acquired *continuity* with the Church which had been represented at Arles and Ariminium, which could look back to Alban as its proto martyr, &c." The italics are mine; but the words are Dr. Bright's, the well-known historian, himself an English Churchman. One wonders what kind of "continuity" that could be which was originated by the "absorption," by the English Church, of the Celtic Church of South Wales (following that of the North in A.D. 755), "under strong pressure" "into its body," a continuity that "was thus, and only thus, acquired." Candidly speaking, was it not precisely identical with that of the boa constrictor and the tame brow-beaten rabbit in the Zoological Gardens, when the former, "under strong pressure," "thus, and only thus," "absorbs into its body" the latter? Or, to change the simile for one which may express the more exact parallel, because it represents less of the process of lubrication than the former, and is, therefore, more true to fact, is it not precisely the "continuity" claimed by the tiger, in the familiar stanza?—

Dr. Bright's "Early English Church." (p. 102) 2nd edition, 1888

The anomalous 'absorption of the Welsh Church by the English Church.

"There was a young lady in Niger,
Who went out for a ride on a tiger,
They came back from that ride,
With the lady inside,
And a smile on the face of the tiger."

* See Haddan and Stubbs, ii., 6, i., 203.

Could not each of these processes of "absorption" be described with equal truthfulness as "a friendly intercourse gradually established between the two, which eventually blended them into one"; and thus "a continuity was acquired"? Is not this mere trifling with words? How absurd it would appear if it were claimed for the boa constrictor, because it had swallowed the rabbit, it had continuity of existence and life with its victim. The same thing applies to the smiling tiger and the hapless young lady.

When will the defenders of the Established Church of England in Wales have the candour to accept honourably the conclusions of their own historians, and acknowledge the facts which these historians dare not ignore at the cost of forfeiting their reputations as historians? Let us see what other historians say.

Clarke's "History of The Church of Wales." on "The Fusion" pp. 47, 48 51.

The Rev. H. W. Clarke, B.A., a clergyman of the Church of England, and a well-known writer on English Ecclesiastical History and Revenues, confirms, in still more vigorous style, what Dr. Bright states, by saying: "It is historically incorrect to speak of the fusion of the Welsh with the English Church having occurred in an amicable and friendly manner. The fusion was carried out, as will be shown presently, by conquest, by massacre, by ruthless desolation of homes and lands of the Welsh people. The Turks never treated the Armenians with more cruelty than the English did the Welsh, and the English Church did the Welsh Church, until the former compelled the latter by fire and sword to submit to their rule and authority. The history of the Welsh Marches is written, not in ink, but in blood. . . . To say the present Church in Wales, except in name, is a continuation of the British Church, is historically incorrect."

Archdeacon Pryce on the *Subjugation* of the Welsh Church. "Ancient British Church." p. 258.

Archdeacon Pryce writes: "The *subjugation* of the Welsh Church brought with it an evil which, perpetuated through so many generations down to the nineteenth century, has rendered it almost impossible to realise the true nature and origin of spiritual jurisdiction. It was the policy of the Norman Kings and their successors to stamp out the national character of the Welsh people, with a view to their thorough assimilation to their English subjects. Unhappily, the Episcopate in Wales was made the instrument for carrying out this policy. Hence the forcing upon the Welsh Church of bishops generally alien, often rapacious, always

antagonistic to the national sentiment, and always prepared to betray the interests of the people under their care to the English Kings. Knowledge of the language, connection by blood with the Welsh Princes, anything, in short, that betokened a feeling of sympathy with the hopes and fears of the people, was considered a disqualification for the episcopal office. During seven centuries, bishops in Wales were essentially a hostile garrison, bound to the English Crown by ties of gratitude for the past and of common hatred towards the native Welsh." The Archdeacon, evidently, was not taken in with the claptrap of the "friendly intercourse gradually established between the two churches." To him, as a historian, the relationship is the badge of "*the subjugation of the Welsh Church*," as well as the "stamping out of the national character," "the Episcopate" being "the instrument for carrying out this policy," so that "the bishops in Wales were essentially a hostile garrison, bound to the English Crown by ties of gratitude for the past, and of common hatred toward the native Welsh." Was there ever a more terrible indictment made against any church in all history!

Dean Edwards on the *Subjugation* of the Cymric Church.

Dean Edwards, speaking of the time when the Norman Kings were beginning to thrust their bishops into the Welsh Sees, says: "During all this time, the object of these ecclesiastical aggressions, in the Norman, as in the Saxon, period was to subjugate the Cymric Church to the authority of the See of Canterbury, and to deprive the See of St. David's of those rights, which had pertained to it as the oldest of the three archbishoprics created in the Roman provinces of Great Britain. The object was at last accomplished by a gross act of ecclesiastical jobbery."

Judge Johnes' "Cause of Dissent," p. 144

In further confirmation of this, Judge Johnes writes: "A considerable time before the accession of Edward I., the Kings of England contrived, by the connivance of the Roman Pontiff, to render the Welsh Church subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and thus to intrude their dependents on her Sees in both divisions of the Principality. Thus, before the final subjugation of Wales, a considerable portion of her Church revenues had passed into the hands of foreigners. It is a singular fact that, during the three first reigns after that event, the North Welsh had very few English prelates imposed upon them. . . . But in the time of

Henry IV. the insurrection of Owen Glyndwr awakened a stern spirit of resentment in her English rulers. . . . Her ancient aristocracy were degraded. . . . Welshmen were excluded from all offices of authority and trust in their own country. . . . Welsh bishoprics were again transferred to English ecclesiastics, and the revenues of the Church in North Wales (as had previously been the case in the South) became the booty of the monks of the English nation."

"The Celtic Church of Wales," By W. Willis Bund p. 498

Mr. Willis Bund, in referring to Peckham's assumption of supremacy over the Welsh Sees in connection with Edward's supremacy over Wales, says: "The Bishop of St. David's made his protest against the Archbishop's visitation; but it was over-ruled, and the right established. . . . This visitation marks the extent of the triumph of the Latin Church over the Celtic. Wales was conquered, and was to feel the power of the conqueror both in Church and State; the Welsh Sees were treated as English Sees. Edward's laws did not purport to extend over the whole of Wales; whole districts were outside the King's writ, but all Wales, whoever was the temporal sovereign, passed under the rule of Canterbury. The final stage was reached when the Pope appointed a bishop (John of Monmouth) to Llandaff by provision in 1295. Although in theory the Latin Church had triumphed, yet in fact a number of Welsh customs survived. It was impossible to root out the tribal system, or the ideas based on it, in a summary fashion. . . . The policy of the English Government was to degrade the Welsh, and not to encourage the ordination of any Welshman. . . So arose an *alien church* supported by an *alien clergy*."

"History of the Norman Conquest," by Ed. A. Freeman, M.A., vol. i, p. 209, 1876

Dr. Freeman, in his "History of the Norman Conquest," says: "The establishment of Norman bishops in the two South Welsh Sees of Llandaff and St. David's, also marks another stage in the *complete subjugation* of the British land. The two prelates thus appointed, Urban and Bernard . . . were followed in their churches by a succession of prelates who, whatever their nationality, were all of them under the allegiance of the English Crown. The attempt, made in the days of Rufus, to set up a foreign bishop, Hervé by name, in the far less fully subdued diocese of Bangor, was less successful."

Mr. Newell, too, in speaking of the ultimate union of the two churches, says: "The only diocese of which any continuous history can be made out is that of Llandaff. The age of Fusion is accordingly exceedingly obscure. It must not be forgotten that the Welsh dioceses acted independently, so that while one was submissive to the See of Canterbury, the other might be in full possession of their ancient rights and privileges. *Unquestionably the political ascendancy of the English King went hand-in-hand with the ecclesistical supremacy of the English Primate.* . . . With the Norman Conquest the claims of the Anglican bishops grew more imperious than before. The saintly and gentle Anselm, who likened himself to a tame old sheep in comparison with the fierce young bull, William the Red, behaved in no wise tamely towards the Church of Wales. He placed Herwald, Bishop of Llandaff, under an interdict, and in a letter to Ralph, Abbot of Séez, forbade that the orders of a certain man, whom Herwald had consecrated, should be recognized as valid. He also suspended temporarily Wilfrid, or Gruffydd, Bishop of St. David's. What were the causes of pretexts for these high-handed acts on the part of Anselm cannot be determined. . . . *South Wales by this time had been conquered by the Normans.* . . . There were many alternations of fortune in subsequent years, but the Norman dominion was never altogether overthrown, and the conquerors *dealt with the Church of the subject principality as they dealt with the English Church.* Upon the death of Wilfrid, of St. David's . . . the clergy of the diocese elected Daniel to succeed him . . . but King Henry put him aside, 'against the will and in contempt of all the scholars of the Britons.' Bernard, 'a man from Normandy,' was preferred instead to the vacant See. . . . Bernard made formal profession of canonical obedience to the See of Canterbury. *The Church in South Wales had now finally lost its independence*, for Urban of Llandaff, *although not imposed so violently* upon his diocese as was Bernard, was apparently equally the Nominee of the Normans."

"A History of the Welsh Church," by Rev. E. J. Newell, M.A. p. 154, ed. 1895

Ibid, pp. 165, 166

Ibid, p. 167

Mr. Newell gives a whole chapter to "The Age of Conflict and *Submission* of the Welsh Church,' and writes: "The Churches of the Celtic communion were united in defence of their ancient customs and in opposition to the claims of Rome. . . It was

a struggle for independence. . . . The Celtic Churches were of one heart and of one mind. The real matter at issue was the important question whether the Celtic Churches were to retain their independence, or to submit to the authority of Rome. . . . The Welsh language retains from the times of the early Celtic Church the terms of ritual and the names of the Church seasons. . . . These relics which survive in language are perhaps the most permanent of all the relics of early Welsh Christianity."

Thus, although the Celtic Church itself was swamped and buried by the incursion of Norman kings and prelates, culminating in the final Conquest of Wales, the relics of its former life and activities are fossilized and preserved in the religious terms and phraseology of the Celt, while the so-called "Church in Wales" marks the place of the defeat and burial of its ancient predecessor.

"History of the Diocese of St. Asaph," p. 32

"The twelfth century," writes Archdeacon Thomas, "ushers in a series of persistent and finally successful efforts on the part of the English King, the Archbishop and the Pope, to subject the Welsh Church to the jurisdiction of Canterbury, *by forcing their nominees into the bishoprics*, and requiring their consecration by the English metropolitan. To this treatment the Welsh princes and people offered a long, but owing to their divided and weakened condition, an ineffectual resistance."

Archdeacon Sinclair, in opening a Welsh Church at Holloway, this spring, said, concerning the Ancient Celtic Church of Wales, that having "survived the perils of Anglo-Saxon heathenism," it "succumbed to the power of Canterbury under the Norman domination, when it could no longer exist."

"Scheme for the Reconstruction of the Church Episcopal," pp. 32, 33, ed. 1855

The Rev. R. W. Morgan tersely expresses the same fact: "The Norman was, all over the world, the mailed champion of Rome. Saxon England was already saturated with the influence of the Norman-Roman priests before William the Conqueror landed; one battle consequently delivered England into his power; for the clergy of Rome were his to a man, and he pleaded the gift of the Pope as his right to the Crown. Preceded by the same church, preparing the way for the same slavery, Henry II. received Ireland from the Pope, and put an end to its ancient church and independency. The same astute and able monarch laboured incessantly to Romanize the British Church of the Principality, con-

vinced that if he could once deliver up the church to Rome, Rome would soon deliver the nation to him. 'Had you not been born in Wales,' said he to Giraldus Cambrensis, 'and nearly allied to its princes and chieftains, especially the Prince Rhys, I would have loaded you with ecclesiastical benefices, and preferred you to the highest honours.' The policy was consummated by his successors A.D. 1203, and by a Bull of the Pope, St. David's, and with it *the British Church, in spite of the appeals presented to three successive Councils* against the Act, was subordinated and merged* into the Roman Catholic Bishopric of Canterbury—Canterbury being in those ages Nuncio and Legate-in-ordinary of the Pope in these kingdoms."

In confirmation of these united statements, are the MSS. in Paris, which have been quite recently published by T. Matthews, M.A. The letter of Owen Glendower to Charles VI. of France, in which he fully states the conditions of submission to the anti-Pope Benedict XIII., also discloses the fact that the stern struggle regarding the primacy of St. David's was not considered by Glendower to have been closed with the defeat of Bishop Beck in 1284, in his attempt to uphold it against Peckham: "That the Church of St. David's shall be restored to its original dignity, which, from the time of St. David, Archbishop and Confessor, was a metropolitan church, and after his death twenty-four archbishops succeeded him in the same place, as their names are contained in the chronicles and ancient books of the Church of Menevia,† and that as a metropolitan church it had, and ought to have, the undermentioned suffragan churches, namely, Exeter, Bath, Hereford, Worcester, Leicester (which See is now translated to the Churches of Coventry and Lichfield), St. Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaff; for being crushed by the fury of the barbarous Saxons. *who usurped to themselves the land of Wales, they trampled upon the aforesaid Church of St. David's and made her a handmaid to the Church of Canterbury.* Again, that the same Lord Benedict shall provide for the Metropolitan Church of St. David's, and the other Cathedral churches of our Principality, prelates, dignitaries

Welsh Records in Paris, by T. Matthews M.A., pp. 53, 97, 98, 1910

* Mr. Morgan evidently refers to the Council of Rheims in 1148, the third Lateran Council in 1179, and the Council in London in the reign of Henry II.—D.D.

† The names given are: "Eliud, Ceneu, Morfell, Mynyw, Haerwnen, Elwaed, Gwrnwen, Llewdwyd, Gwrwyst, Gwgawn, Clydâwg, Aman, Elias, Maelyswyd, Sadwrnwen, Cadell, Alaethwy, Novis, Drochwel, Asser, Arthwall, David II., and Samson."

and beneficed clergy and curates who know our language. Again, that the Lord Benedict shall revoke and annul all incorporations, unions, annexions, appropriations of parochial churches of our Principality made so far, by any authority whatsoever with English monasteries and colleges. That the true patrons of these churches shall have the power to present to the ordinaries of those places suitable persons to the same, or appoint others. Again that the said Lord Benedict shall concede to us and to our heirs, the princes of Wales, that our chapels, &c., shall be free, and shall rejoice in the privileges, exemptions and immunities in which they rejoiced in the time of our forefathers the princes of Wales."

In confirmation of the same fact, emphasized by the galaxy of historians just cited, Judge Vaughan Williams, now the president of "The Welsh Church Commission," writes: "The annexation of Wales by Edward I., in 1284, *completed the destruction* of the Celtic Church. . . I have sketched the history of its origin, of its *great struggle for local independence, and the final triumph of Rome.* It is impossible to contemplate this triumph without some feeling of regret. It is interesting, to speculate for a moment, what might have been the future of Christianity if the Celtic Church had held its own. It may be that some such effect would have been wrought upon the tone of religious institutions within the sphere of its influence, as has been wrought upon the political institutions of Great Britain by her geographical position. It may be that the types of the Christian Churches in Great Britain would have been simpler, that our Church hierarchy would have had more of a domestic, and less of a political character. It may be that we should have had more religious unity."

Transactions of the Cymrodorion Society.

Judge Vaughan Williams, pp. 12, 13

These wise words of a "seer" must have been recalled by their author often during the Church Commission proceedings, which have of late drawn out their weary length. And those words of his which followed must have come back to him in a new light during the same proceedings: "Possibly, however, it is better for the cause of religion that we should not have attained unity. Competition and criticism, and even party strife, may improve the tone of the churches, as well as those of other bodies." He must have had ample proof that the differences, separations, and even strifes—which were inevitable among a people who, by the total

neglect of their spiritual interests, were thrown back upon their own resources, to grope their way into the light—have in the history of the Free Churches evolved gradually, but certainly, a unity in variety to-day. The old strifes are forgotten, though the differences are freely admitted, but a fidelity to the principles they hold in common, and to the Master they all serve, unites them in one great Free Church Federation for evangelizing and uplifting the nation.

Principal Bebb on the attempts to secure independence for Welsh Church. "The Church in Wales."

Principal Bebb, of Lampeter, in the pamphlet to which reference has already been made, also says: "The first positive result of the Norman Conquest was the definite, though gradual, inclusion of Wales in the province of Canterbury. It was gradual because the Conquest of Wales was not accomplished so rapidly as that of England. . . . To the same period belong the attempts to secure independency of Canterbury for the Welsh Church by asserting the metropolitan claim for St. David's."

Mr. Arthur Jones, M.A., in his Introduction to the earliest extant Peniarth MS., which belongs to the thirteenth century, calls attention to the fact that the *Hanes* speaks of the "archbishopric" of St. David'. In speaking further of this MS., he says: "Its original Latin shape, its numerous Biblical illustrations, and its pious ejaculations, stamp the *Hanes* as so obviously the work of a cleric, that this curious fact of its calling St. David's an archbishopric begins to have significance. Within the memory of authentic history, St. David's had never received or exercised either the dignity or privileges of an archbishopric. But the reawakening sense of the unity and distinction of the Welsh people accruing from the struggle against the Normans discovered itself more than in any other way, in a steadily accelerating movement for the dissociation in Wales from subservience to the See of Canterbury. Under the influence of Giraldus Cambrensis the Chapter of St. David's even ventured to realize its ambitions, and between the year 1176 and 1202 carried on a fierce altercation with the Norman Kings, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and even the Pope, in support of its claims to metropolitan powers. There is no doubt that this attempt made a great impression in Wales. . . . Only at this period (1176-1202) would anyone have thought of calling St. David's an archbishopric in a reputable his-

"History of Gruffydd ap Cynan," by Arthur Jones, M.A., pp. 20, 21, 1910

torical narrative. . . . But it must be remembered that the growth of patriotic feeling in Wales, was renewed as early as 1094, long before Giraldus appeared in Welsh affairs, and that Geoffrey of Monmouth came under its influence—those forces and ideas prevailing in Wales led Geoffrey earlier than 1137 to style St. David's an archbishopric." This accounts, I think, for the title "archbishopric" being applied to St. David's, which never seems in reality to have possessed supremacy over the other Welsh Sees.

Dean (now Bishop) Owen's version of history, at Rhyl Church Congress, 1891.

By an irony of fate, we find the present occupier of that See, in the Rhyl Church Congress (1891), then as Dean of St. Asaph, say in a paper he read in the presence of the then Archbishop of Canterbury: "The present agitation aims, not only at disestablishment, but *even more at severing the long historic union between the Church in Wales and the Church in England—at severing the Church not only from the State; but diocese from diocese within the Church.* In the spiritual interests of the Church we oppose this severance, even more strenuously than we oppose disestablishment. We wish the Church in Wales, by the free currents of your sympathies, your large experience, your practical energy, your varied intellectual and spiritual life, now to gain, as once for a short time she lost, through her complete oneness with the Church in England. Our temporary loss was not the fault of the Church in England. We remember Archbishop Peckham. The fault lay in the policy of short-sighted Statesmen, who cared not for the Church. The Church in England suffered, too. Our gain and loss have come to us together throughout the centuries. . . . *We know full well our Church's identity was not made by Act of Parliament, nor can Parliament destroy it.* It is an identity 'tied and knotted and tangled,' not only by a multitude of legal bonds or meshes, but by the lasting, because living, bonds of the spiritual organisation of the Church." Imagine the successor of those brave Bishops of St. David's, who fought to the last the unequal battle of preserving their independence against the overwhelming power of Canterbury, talk such obsequious twaddle. All this, too, in the face of the evidence just adduced from historians of unquestioned authority in his own Church, of the scandalous way in which that union was brought about, and of

how the Welsh dioceses throughout the centuries, after the accession of the Norman Kings, were plundered in the interests of English dioceses and colleges, as we shall shew later.

Bishop Owen remembers Peckham!

Then there is that servile phrase: "We remember Archbishop Peckham." Already the Bishop had expatiated on "the generous efforts of Archbishop Peckham in the name of the English Church in behalf" of the Welsh Church. These are but the docile echoes of Archbishop Benson's own utterances at the Cardiff Congress only two years before. The Archbishop then, in referring to Edward I. and Prince Llewelyn, said: "The documents exhibit Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, as the only man on either side who had a policy." Whatever may be said of the other two, there is no doubt that Archbishop Peckham had a policy, and a very well defined one. That policy was to play upon Llewelyn's large and generous nature by words of nauseous assurance of love for him and his people, coupled, however, with a veiled threat of what would happen if resistance were offered; and, on the other hand, the policy of bringing Edward I. simultaneously into line, by urging him to institute a travelling Commission into Wales to inspect, reminding him of the irreparable mischief which an embittered clergy might work for any Government. Peckham followed this up with further gratuitous advice, namely, that the Welsh people should not remain scattered over the country, but be grouped in townships or centres: this being a most effectual way of Anglicising the country; that Welsh boys should be sent to England for their education: a further step toward denationalizing and depopulating Wales; and that the clergy should bring moral pressure to bear upon an indolent, and irresponsive people: the ultimate step in bringing the Welsh nation under the rule of the priest. He, moreover, urged that the Cathedral of St. Asaph should be removed to a new town, so that no longer "the canons should sing to themselves and the stone walls." It requires an Archbishop, or, at least, a Bishop—and he a Welsh one—to fail to see through all this Jesuitical plotting, now that both sides of Peckham's operations can be read in the light of all that followed.

"The generous efforts" which have made such a profound impression upon the guileless soul of the Bishop of St. David's,

were the deep-laid and all too successful plot, first to entrap Llewelyn and his people, and, as a consequence, expose the Welsh Church to the power of Westminster, and then, by the self-same coup, to place Edward, by virtue of the archiepiscopal service thus rendered, under a greater obligation to Canterbury, and thus place the Church in England and Wales more completely under the dominion of the Pope. This plot found its denouement in the death of Llewelyn, to which we shall presently refer, and the double triumphal march of Edward and his ecclesiastical predominant partner, Peckham, throughout Wales! Saintly soul was Peckham! So supernaturally generous to Wales that the Bishop of St. David's would have him held in everlasting remembrance!

Wales, too, remembers Peckham!

"Remember Archbishop Peckham"! Yes, Wales remembers him well! She remembers, too, that when Llewelyn, her last Prince, was induced to leave his soldiers to confer ostensibly with the Chiefs of Wigmore and Ewyas, he was surrounded by the English King's men, who treacherously carried the standard of Ewyas.* She remembers that on that day Archbishop Peckham was in Hereford, within easy call, and that by the blending of duplicity, and relentless grip of the Welsh dioceses, after the fall of Llewelyn, he accomplished the Conquest of the Ancient Welsh Church simultaneously with the Conquest of Wales by Edward I. Yes, Wales remembers Peckham as the typical compeer of Whitgift and Laud, and other archbishops of that ilk who preceded and followed him for centuries, who unitedly crushed the life out of the Celtic Church, and substituted for it their Anglican system—including the universal legal liability to pay tithes, as in England—filled its offices with their own nominees, and took possession of all its emoluments!

And then the Bishop proceeds in gushing tones to talk about the existing "identity 'tied and knotted and tangled.'" Very much so; and, as we have seen, having no end of "meshes," too. But where "the spiritual organisation" comes in, in the light of the fearful tale of conquest and plunder attending the defeat of the Welsh Church by, and its enforced submission to, the English

* In confirmation of this there is an entry as Personal Expenses of Edward I. in Rhuddlan Castle, 1282, under the heading "Wardrobe Expenses," as follows—"Tuesday on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, paid for six ells of web cloth and six ells of strong fine linen, bought for pennons and Welsh standards, of Ewyas, and for making the same—0. 13. 4."—D.D.

Church, is a problem which I defy the Bishop to solve. The repudiation of the identity of the present churches being "made by Act of Parliament" is in character with the rest. How can Bishop Owen indulge in such assertions in face of the Acts of Parliament in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth? If any proof were required that the Old Celtic Church is extinct, and that the grand old spirit of independency, which fired the ancient Celtic bishops, no longer lingers in the breasts of their so-called successors, we have it in these utterances of Bishop Owen. They have positively nothing in common with the convictions and feelings which the old Celtic bishops held most sacred, and in the defence of which they never faltered, but fought bravely against infinite odds, to the very end.

Bishop Owen's Policy of Despair.

How strikingly the explicit utterances of Dr. Bright, Archdeacon Pryce, Judge Johnes, J. W. Willis Bund, Dr. Freeman, E. J. Newell, W. H. Clarke, Principal Bebb, Dean Edwards, Sir John Rhys, Archdeacon Thomas, R. W. Morgan and Judge Vaughan Williams, contrast with the glib travesty of historic facts supplied by the Bishop of St. David's! How grandly, moreover, did the heroic and determined attitude of the Ancient Celtic Church towards Canterbury contrast with the cringing and even desperate appeal of Bishop Owen, as he clings pathetically to the skirts of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Church he represents, with the apparent firm conviction that all the spiritual grace and virtue necessary to keep his Church on its last legs, and, indeed, religion itself alive in Wales, have, and always must, come through those skirts! Apart from the seriousness and sadness of such a spectacle, and the feeling that the Bishop must really mean what he says, the role he assumes here would become ludicrously absurd. But when we think of it all, it appears exceedingly humiliating. Here a bishop of the so-called National Church of Wales—the bishop of the most ancient See in Great Britain—has to confess that it would be ruinous for the Church in Wales, *beyond all other considerations of disestablishment*, to be obliged to do what the ancient bishops fought to the death to retain for her as her right and privilege, namely to fulfil her grand mission, without the tutelage, dictation, or patronage—in short, without the parental government—of Canterbury. How are the mighty fallen!

"The Western Mail," March, 1910.

But one able and eminently fair reviewer from the Church standpoint, in referring to my criticism of this utterance of Bishop (then Dean) Owen, says: "The Bishop of St. David's, in his chrysalis state, once committed himself to several assertions which cannot bear strict scrutiny." But the unfortunate part of it all is that it is not once alone, or only when in "a chrysalis state," that the Bishop has done this! This was in 1891. We will therefore have a glimpse at him in a more advanced stage of larval development. To begin with, in 1895, when the Dean had advanced a stage, and when the wings began to form as Principal of Lampeter College. In a speech at Llandudno, he said: "I maintain that *this union is entirely of ecclesiastical and voluntary origin*, and, *therefore*, Parliament has no moral right whatever to undo what it never made. It is a gross outrage on religious liberty." The array of historians from his own Church, of whom he ought to have learnt something as the Principal of a College, shew, as I have already demonstrated in detail, that, though the "union" was certainly "ecclesiastical," it was anything but "voluntary" in its origin. Moreover, they are unanimous in their testimony that the "gross outrage" occurred when the Celtic Church was—none the less cruelly because slowly—crushed into submission, its distinguishing features battered in, and its limbs broken by the united brutality of King, Archbishop and Pope, and ultimately "absorbed" by the Latin Church, precisely as Wales was "absorbed" by England, namely, by sheer conquest.

But lest this again should be taking an undue advantage of Bishop Owen in any formative stage—even that of pupa, which the Principalship of Lampeter may be supposed to represent—we will take a glimpse of him less than two years ago, considerably more than ten years after he had reached his imaginal state, having developed his wings and become a full-blown prelate. Speaking at the Church Congress in Manchester, October 8, 1908, Bishop Owen said: "The fusion of the Welsh with the English dioceses culminating in the present unity, long before the formal corporation of Wales with England, was not a single act, but a gradual process, affecting each of them severally, and extending over five centuries, from the eighth century to the thirteenth. *In this process of fusion 'the uniting force of Christianity was at work, rather than*

forcible attempts of English Kings and prelates to force on the Welsh an English or Anglo-Roman system.' " Can it be believed that, in the face of the testimony of the solid phalanx of historians, whose words have just been quoted—a testimony given with such striking unanimity and emphasis, any man, who has a reputation to lose for knowledge or modesty, could be found to present such a distortion of history as the Bishop of St. David's gave before the Church Congress at Manchester less than two years ago? And, even if such a gentleman could be found, is it credible that an audience, of the character and enlightenment which we are justified in presuming a Church Congress would be, could listen to such a historical travesty—even though he gave it second-hand—without giving expression to a vigorous protest in the interests of accuracy and veracity in the statement of historic facts!

A new Prince of Wales.

The union of Wales with England by the Conquest in 1282 was, as shewn, consolidated by the Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284. That year Edward and his Queen Eleanor came to Wales. While Edward was at Rhuddlan, the Queen gave birth to a Prince in Carnarvon Castle. A tradition first given by Powell exactly three hundred years later (1584) is not altogether improbable, to the effect that Edward inveigled the Welsh chieftains into a promise to obey a prince born in Wales, who was irreproachable in character, and withal unable to speak a word of English; and then presented to them his newly-born son as their prince, to whom they had pledged their obedience and homage. During this journey the King ordered restitution to all the clergy who had suffered in recent conflicts, but refused it to the laity unless they were poor: in which case he would allow compensation from "a feeling of piety." Meanwhile the Archbishop of Canterbury visited the Welsh Churches. Thus Church and State joined hands, and, with united voice, claimed homage from the conquered Cymry. Soon, too, castles were built throughout the land in order to establish firmer English rule among the people.

The First Norman Prince born at Carnarvon.

Division of Llywelyn's Kingdom into shires.

These events, however, had a bearing only upon the conquered dominion of Llywelyn and his vassals. The expansive strip of country extending between Chester and Swansea belonged to the Lords-Marcher—so also did the present county of Pembroke in the extreme west. Indeed, these Norman lords, whom the Conqueror

had sent to the borders of Wales as a check upon the Welsh nation, were a constant menace. These Marches, therefore, remained after the conquest of the dominions of Llywelyn much the same as before. But the country formerly governed by the fallen Prince was divided into six shires, each having a sheriff. These shires were Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, all of which were constantly invaded by the Lords-Marcher, who were tyrannical and unscrupulous in their conduct toward their weaker neighbours.

The Lords-Marcher and the Lancastrian Kings.

These were the men who, by and by, placed the Lancastrian kings upon the throne in order that they might be at liberty to indulge in their depredations and selfish excesses without check from those kings, who owed their throne entirely to their patronage. These lords, although subject to the king, in the sense of paying homage to him, were nevertheless, perfect masters in their own lordships, and in that respect were not accountable to the king.

From the Black Book of St. David's we see, as the Editor and Translator clearly points out, how during this period the country was steadily being Anglicized by those Lords Marcher; and it will be noticed that he refers specially to the Bishop as the Ecclesiastical Lord Marcher, since the Black Book deals exclusively with the estate of the Bishop of St. David's. On every territory they acquired "a town was formed, either by building a castle, or planting a strong settlement. The Welsh landowners were not dispossessed of lands, but were made to hold them in English tenures. . . Outside the town, in the same district, the Welsh customs went on as before. If the Welsh customs were of a kind to bring money to the lord, they were retained, and the Norman custom added to them . . . if they did not, Norman customs were substituted.

The Black Book of St. David's, edited by J. W. Willis Bund, p. xxiii, 1902

"There can be no date fixed," adds Mr. Bund, "when English law was established in Wales before the Acts of Henry VIII. Where the Lords Marcher went they took English law with them; but there was no general abrogation of Welsh law, or Welsh customs. If this was so in the estates of the Church, it would be much more so in the estates of laymen. As long as the lord could make any profit out of any existing system, whether English

or Welsh, he continued it in addition to what he established. When it ceased to be profitable, he introduced something else."

Throughout the Black Book of St. David's the bishop always appears in the imposing character of a great Lord Marcher. In the eastern half of the diocese a second palace was built later at Abergwili, near the great Norman fortress of Carmarthen. Thus the power and dignity of the bishopric were maintained and increased during the Norman period, and *so* were extended and consolidated "the spiritual organization of the Church," upon which the Bishop of St. David's dilated so eloquently at Rhyl. Thus, too, the processes of suppressing Welsh nationality, and Anglicising the Ancient Celtic Church, went on merrily hand-in-hand!

The Lords-Marcher availed themselves voraciously of every opportunity to gulp down some portion of neighbouring Welsh lands, and thus encroach upon the rights and possessions of the Welsh people. The Land Laws, specially passed in their interests by the English King, made it easy for them to rob the Welsh chiefs of portion after portion of their patrimony under semblance of lawful possession. The position of the Welsh landowners became utterly intolerable. Many minor insurrections broke out, but each revolt was put down, and resulted in more landgrabbing on the part of the Lords-Marcher, with the connivance of the English King, who, being a creature of the Lancastrian lords, could do no other.

The relationship of the Welsh Church to the Latin Church during this period was, as it had been for centuries, the reflex of the relationship of Wales and its princes to England and its kings. "With the gallant Llewelyn fell the independence of Wales. The independence of the Welsh Church may, perhaps be considered as having ended a hundred years before, when Archbishop Baldwin and Gerald de Barri went on their celebrated itinerary; but after Llewelyn's death even the more sanguine patriot must have abandoned all hope of reviving it, at least, until many years were past. Many a Welsh clergyman doubtless sorrowed with the bard (Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Goch), who lamented the fall of the golden-handed prince, the hero of the red-stained spear."

That many did cherish the hope of the final recovery of the Church even then seems evident, and, indeed, the conquerors were

for a time specially lenient toward it, realizing that the loyalty of the Welsh people to the traditions of the Celtic Church was, if anything, more persistent and unyielding than even their loyalty to the traditions of their country—since religious sentiment was, after all, mightier than the patriotic, and among the Celts, as among the Hebrews, was inseparably associated with it. It was doubtless in order to appease the feeling of restlessness and impatience that Edward and his Queen Eleanor went on a pilgrimage to St. David's, as a token of their devotion to the Welsh Church and its ancient metropolitan See. Even Peckham, now that his supremacy was assured, was prepared to speak in most flattering and eulogistic terms of the Church of Wales, of which, unlike modern Archbishops, he, with consummate tact, spoke as being still Ecclesia Walliæ *as well as four dioceses of the province of Canterbury* !

When he went on his visitation to the four dioceses of Wales, in 1284, Bishop Beck protested against his visit as Primate—though willing to receive him as Archbishop—as the suit instituted by Giraldus Cambrensis at Rome in 1199, following upon the suit instituted by Bernard, before his death, regarding the primacy of St. David was still pending, and thus the decision must not be anticipated or prejudiced. The plausible Archbishop made short work of the protest by threatening instant excommunication. Thus the last effort of maintaining the independence of the Welsh primacy, and the very existence of the Welsh Church, was crushed by the terrors of excommunication; and the compliment of Peckham as to the continued existence of *Ecclesia Walliæ* was pricked like an air-bubble when once a limitation of his supreme and unconditional sway was suggested. His depreciation of the Welsh and their clergy, his insistence upon the boys being sent to England, and the agricultural populations being centred in towns so as to be well under his and King Edward's eye, all the while he had nothing but smiles for the Welsh when he was unresisted, are all in harmony with his subtle scheme of bringing the Welsh Church into helpless subjection to Canterbury, as well as the Welsh nation into complete subjection to Westminster. But the protest by Bishop Beck, although effectively suppressed by Peckham on this occasion, was not for ever silenced, as we shall find

"Welsh Records in Paris," by T. Matthews M.A. pp. 40-83

later from a letter written by Owen Glendower to Charles VI. of France, in 1406.

The songs of the bards at this time are faithful echoes of the deep and intense religious sentiment which prevailed among the Welsh people at the time when Wales became subject to Edward the Conqueror, and the Welsh Church was forced into submission to his co-adjutor Peckham. Stephens, in his "Literature of the Kymry," supplies us with some specimens of the sacred poems of the age: specimens which naturally suffer from the fact that they are mere prose translations, and therefore necessarily miss the rhythmic flow and delightful parallelism of the original. Yet, in their unadorned simplicity, they reproduce the thought-rhythm so characteristic of much Welsh poetry, as it is of Hebrew. I will reproduce a few lines of the stanzas reproduced from Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Goch, the author of the Elegy on Llewelyn the last Welsh Prince:— "Literature of the Kymry," By Thomas Stephens,

The blood is as fresh
As the day He was crucified,
And His hands were spread out,
When the deed was done.

* * * * *

And the crown of thorns,
And his lifeless body,
And His head encircled
With the thorny ring.

Another by Madawc ab Gwallter:—

A son has been given us,
A kind son is born
With great privileges,
A son of glory,
A son to save us,
The best of sons.
A God, a man,
And the God, a man,
With the same faculties.

* * * * *

Richly poor,
Our father and brother,
Author of being.

Has the suppression of the Welsh Church by the Anglican resulted in anything to surpass these for tender piety, evangelical sentiment, and exquisite grace of diction? Would that the Norman and Saxon had never laid violent hands upon the Church and religion of the Celt! It was impossible that they should rob it of its Celtic characteristics without depriving it of its unique fervour, pathos, and rich evangelism, and withal its robust puritanism and love of liberty. That is aboundantly illustrated in the Church in Wales to-day.

Owain Glyndwr.

At length, the national spirit was roused into desperate resistance in the person of Owen ab Gruffydd Fychan, or Owen Glendower. Lord de Grey of Ruthin had withheld from Glendower the writ which had been issued by Henry summoning Glendower, in common with the other barons, to join the expedition against the Scots. Then, having misrepresented to the King the reason for Glendower's failure to respond, as being simply a deliberate act of rebellion against the King, he took possession of Glendower's land on the plea of forfeiture. Immediately Glendower called together his retainers, and fiercely retaliated the insult and the wrong. He at the same time appealed, but all in vain, to Henry IV.; and he knew why. He had learnt too well how helpless Henry was in the presence of those lords, who had unlawfully placed him upon his throne.

The Insurrection.

Thus Owen Glendower was forced to take the law into his own hands. Other Welsh gentlemen, who had suffered from the unscrupulous depredations of the Lords-Marcher—and who, near the border, had not!— eagerly joined Glendower, and followed his leading. This daring opposition to the plundering barons—that brutal, lascivious, and avaricious crew who were masters of the English King—necessarily assumed the significance of an insurrection against the throne, in so far as its connection with Wales was concerned. The French King, who was always rightly suspicious of the designs of the English King upon his throne, aided Glendower, and even a Spanish pirate fleet was placed at his disposal. He, moreover, entered into an alliance with the anti-Pope Benedict XIII. There are four documents in Paris bearing Owen Glendower'r seals. His Privy Seal is attached to the Commission issued by Owen to Griffith Yonge and John Hanmer, and

"Welsh Records in Paris." Facsimile opposite p. 23 seq. also p. 120

is attached to it by a thong under a double fold of the document. The seal has also been impressed on the personal letter to Charles VI., which is written on paper. In both cases the wax is red. The Great Seal is attached to Owen's ratification of the treaty with Charles VI. of France, and to the letter to Charles promising obedience to "Pope Benedict XIII." These seals are in yellow wax, and upon them are the words "Owenus, Dei Gratiâ Princeps Walliæ." All these are still extant in Paris. This letter was written to Charles VI. on March 31, 1406. Among other things the letter contains the conditions upon which Owen Glendower was prepared to reduce "himself, his lands and his dominions to the obedience of our lord the Pope Benedict XIII." To these conditions we refer more fully elsewhere.

Owain Glyndwr's Scheme

From this, as well as from other documents and records, it will be seen that his purposes and aims expanded with the growing success of his cause. His first aim was to conquer and subdue once for ever the lordly brigands on the borders, who had gradually become possessed of the eastern half of Wales, and who were a perpetual menace to the Welsh people in the western shires. But this necessarily involved their entire absorption into Wales proper, so that the whole country, commensurate with our present Wales, should be free and independent, with Parliamentary representation, under the rule of Welsh princes, the first of whom was to be Owen Glendower himself. *The Church in Wales, moreover, was to be independent of the Church in England and Rome.* Glendower held that St. David's, in former days, had been the metropolitan See of Wales, and maintained that it should be restored to its pristine prerogative and glory. Two universities were also to be established; one for North Wales, and the other for the South. Hand-in-hand with all this was the appeal to patriotism, to the forgetfulness of all petty jealousies, as henceforth the interests of each should be the interests of all, and the interests of all the interests of each. He vigorously taught his countrymen that "all men's good should be each man's law." It was a national movement, in the fruits of which all would share by virtue of an equal voice, and a just and equitable representation. Thus the battle cry of Owen Glendower roused the whole nation.

The meeting of Glyndwr's Parliament. 1404.

For a time Glendower prospered so greatly that he seemed

to be sufficiently established to begin his great work of reform. He assembled his Parliament at Dolgelly, in 1404; and until quite recently the old Parliament House stood, a quaint relic of a grand and daring innovation—the pledge and promise of a projected Home Rule scheme, by one of the greatest geniuses and most dashing leaders that Wales has ever produced. The old building was a grand object lesson, and an unfailing source of inspiration to the true patriot, because of the unique associations gathering round it. But the inhabitants of Dolgelly in the present generation do not appear to have thought so. The town missed the opportunity of purchasing the old Parliament House for a few hundred pounds, the result being that a townsman of an observant turn, straightway secured it, and, making short work of all antiquarian and patriotic sentiment, cleared the site upon which Glendower and his "ironsides" had stood, and on it built an ironmonger's shop!

The Old Parliament House replaced by an ironmonger's Shop.

Glyndwr's Early Success.

The secret of Glendower's great success at the outset may be doubtless attributed, in part, to the fact that the blood of the royal families of Gwynedd, Dyfed and Powys, coursed in his veins, and that he was the direct descendant of the Powys lords, who were distinguished for their bravery in the times of the Normans. The help of the French King was, moreover, a valuable factor. The suffering of other Welsh gentlemen at the hands of the Lords-Marcher, too, led to a ready and enthusiastic response to the call to arms. But the greatest secret of it all was the commanding genius and prowess of Glendower himself, wedded to the righteousness of his cause, and the marvellously comprehensive, patriotic and lofty nature of his scheme. His early legal education and military training also did him grand service in preparation for the great work which he at length undertook.

Owain Glyndwr's love for religion and knowledge

Glendower, too, was the patron and friend of the bard, and in every possible way encouraged religious and secular culture. He displayed in an exceptional degree the typical Welshman's love for religion and knowledge. Indeed, he did much to foster that twofold characteristic of the Welsh nation in dark and troublous days.

The uniqueness of his character and life.

His own career was brilliant in character, sudden and even startling in its transitions and mysterious in appearance. He did

daring and difficult things without effort, and succeeded without semblance of surprise. To him, at times, nothing seemed to be impossible. And even when events proved that he was vulnerable like other men, he appeared suddenly after an overwhelming defeat with the glow of enthusiasm, and certainty of victory, which were contagious beyond description, and inspired the most timid with an unfaltering courage.

Heralded better days.

But Glendower was a man born before his time—a seer who saw things afar off and heralded their coming, but did not live to witness their advent. Succeeding generations have seen the very gradual but certain fulfilment of his hopes, and the maturing of those exalted and far-reaching purposes, for the realization of which he unstintingly devoted the full vigour of his fertile brain, powerful arm, and patriotic heart.

The Bards. Dafydd ab Gwilym's School.

As already stated, the muse of the Welsh bards was silenced for a generation after the fall of Llywelyn, the last Prince. The old bards, who had done so much in earlier days to raise the Celtic tribes above others round, had largely fulfilled their mission. They had begotten in the people a patriotic courage, which had bravely struggled for centuries with their powerful foes. But they had no message to the conquered. The horizon had, moreover, been widened by the untoward events of recent years, and new conditions of life had set in. Thus the old martial strains died out of the land; but only to give way to the love song and pastoral poetry of the fourteenth century. The bards of old loved their country intensely, but now love and beauty supplanted war as the theme of song. Dafydd ab Gwilym, "the Cambrian Petrarch," and the greatest of the bards of the period, founded a new school in which the love of nature and, consequently, a keen appreciation of its beauty, a high esteem of womanhood, and a sympathetic appreciation of the humble toils of the lowly peasant, were leading characteristics. To these should be added his wide outlook, his powerful satire, yet withal his genial spirit, intense pathos, and bewildering naturalness, which characterized the 262 poems which are still extant, and of which his charming "Ode to Summer" would be classed among the masterpieces of any literature. A profound religious sentiment also permeated Dafydd ab Gwilym's poetry; yet his devotion was by no means cloistered, but breathed the bracing

mountain air, and reflected some of the subtle glories of the arching heavens. His religion was not cabined and closeted like that of the monks; but free and unfettered as the breeze which "bloweth where it listeth." Happily this new type of Welsh poetry has never since died out of the land.

The Death of Glyndwr.

Altogether, the period following upon the death of the last, and, in some senses, the greatest champion of the Welsh people in their struggle for national independency and self-government, in the person of Owen Glendower, was one of great oppression, during which the hope of the people languished, and almost died.

The Norman method adopted was subtle and persistently aggressive, as already indicated in my reference to The Black Book of St. David's, and Mr. Bund's comments in his introduction, namely: "If Welsh customs were of a kind to bring money to the lord, they were retained, and the Norman custom was added to them. . . . if they did not, the Norman customs were substituted. . . . As long as the lord could make any profit out of any existing system, whether English or Welsh, he continued it, in addition to what he established."

p. xxiii

It was this capacity for accommodating themselves to everything that was favourable, and of disposing of what was not profitable to them, that was the supreme characteristic of the Norman Kings and of the Lords Marcher, both temporal and spiritual. It was thus, as we have seen, that the Norman tithe was put upon the back of the holders of glebe land, in addition to former rent, at St. David's in the day of Bernard, and was gradually extended from See to See and eventually sanctioned and enforced by law.

The Accession of the Tudors to the Throne of England.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Welsh nation hailed with rapturous delight the coronation of Henry VII., the grandson of Owen Tudor, who had married the widow of Henry V. One of their own blood sat now upon the throne of England, for whom they had already bravely fought in the battle of Bosworth, and to whom now they gladly paid their homage. He, in return, lightened their burdens; but still they suffered under many oppressive laws which had come down from the past, especially from the Lancastrian period. When Henry VIII. ascended the throne a new hope once more buoyed up the Welsh nation. Nor was it

altogether a mistaken hope. Many of the most unjust laws, which had been passed ages since to crush the Welsh, were now repealed, and the nation began to breathe freely.

The Suppression of the Lordship Marches, and completion of Welsh Shires.

All this begat in them increasing confidence in the rule of Tudors, hence they petitioned Henry VIII. to relieve them from existing disabilities, and to extend to them the same rights and privileges as those already enjoyed by the English. Meanwhile, the Lords-Marcher on the Welsh borders had been long looked upon by Henry VIII. and his father with suspicion and distrust, and now, finding that many of the great lordships had reverted to him, and fearing still the power of remaining lords, he suppressed the Lordship Marches, divided them into shires, namely Denbigh, Montgomery, Radnor, Brecon, and Monmouth : Pembroke and Glamorgan having before this been formed. These, in addition to the shires formed by Edward I., after the Conquest of Wales, formed practically the Wales of to-day. This was consummated by an Act of Union in 1536, when England and Wales were permanently united, and the English and Welsh were placed under the same laws, and largely made the sharers of the same rights and privileges. The presence of a Welshman upon the throne of England was the one factor, more than any other, which made this union possible, and, so far, we have reason to be grateful for the ascendancy of the House of Tudor, although that House never fulfilled the hopes it inspired in the heart of the Welsh people on the accession of Henry VII. to the throne. One fact remains, that from the hour that Henry VII. was proclaimed king, until now, the Welsh nation, through good and through evil report, and in the face of generations of neglect, and numberless acts of injustice, on the part of the English Monarchs, have never ceased to be loyal to the English Crown.

CHAPTER IV.

The English Church in Wales from the Reformation till 1850.

IT is important that we should now take note of the condition of the Welsh Church at the time of the Reformation. As we have already seen, the English Government together with the Church, had for centuries been on the alert, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the concurrence, and even at the instigation of the Norman Kings, closed their grip more and more upon it. In addition to obtaining all the dignities of the Church in Wales, indeed, as the result of this, the Latin ecclesiasts on every possible occasion, and in every possible way, sought to obliterate the distinctive features of the old Celtic Church, by, not only substituting the Latin Chapter for the ancient monastic institution in the other Sees, as Bernard did first at St. David's, but as a necessary consequence, by depreciating the position and power of the abbot, and increasing the dignity and power of the bishop. Collaterally with this, the parochial system and parishes were formed, involving the appointment of clergy, and the establishment of churches, after the Latin ecclesiastical type.

The Celtic "Llan" versus the Latin "Eglwys."

As a result, the "Eglwys," wherever possible, took the place of the "Llan"—the former being the transliteration into Welsh of the Greek and Latin "Ecclesia," as a substitute for the Celtic name, "Llan" (Church). Thus, to this day, there are two classes of names connected with the sacred buildings of the Established Church in Wales. The "Llanau" (plural of "Llan") which remain were originally the old Celtic settlements, while the "Eglwysi" (plural of "Eglwys") are the Latin *churches* which were founded, or, at least, were rebuilt in later times by Latin ecclesiasts, holding no relationship with the old Celtic settlement.

Thus, wherever an "Eglwys" exists, we shall find a successful attempt, so far, to Latinize, or, what is practically equivalent, to Anglicize, the Celtic Church. The success in this direction, however, was very limited. The Normans could do a great deal, but they could not force the Welsh people into calling their Parish Church, "Eglwys," when, from usage and preference, they persisted in calling it "Llan." Thus they persistently adhered to the older name, which a parish church had borne, even when it was rebuilt. Moreover, in giving a name to a new parish church, they, as a rule, called it "Llan," such as "Llandeilo" (Teilo's Church), "Llanfair" (Mary's Church), "Llanpumpsaint" (The Church of the five Saints). Yet, speaking *generally* of those very churches which had "Llan" incorporated in their name, the people, as the result of the term "Eglwys" being used of the "Church" in the Salesbury Translation of the New Testament, and in the subsequent versions of the Welsh Bible, and the same name being applied to the buildings incessantly by the Norman clergy, learnt to speak of them in ordinary conversation as "Eglwysi'r Plwyf," i.e., "Parish Churches."

The consequence is that, though the term "Eglwys" is now constantly used in general conversation, there are only seven instances in which "Eglwys" has been incorporated in the distinctive names of churches in the whole of Wales. They are "Eglwys Cymmun,' Carmarthenshire, "Eglwyswrw," Pembrokeshire, "Eglwysilan" and "Eglwys Brewys," Glamorganshire, "Eglwysbach," Denbighshire, "Eglwys Rhôs," Carnarvonshire, and "Hen Eglwys," Anglesey. It will be noticed that Eglwysbach, instead of Eglwysfach, is an English corruption, suggestive of Saxon intrusion.

Now, under the old Celtic system, the "mother church," called "Llan," was the colony, or settlement, direct from the monastery. This, as a "mother church," had other churches subordinate to it. But while all mother churches were called by the name "Llan," every "Llan" was not a mother church, which, as such, had other churches subordinate to it. Those "Llanau" which had no subordinate churches under their care, did not occupy the same position of honour with regard to the monasteries as the mother churches did.

The church that was immediately subordinate to the "mother church" was called "Bettws"—for instance Bettws-y-coed, or "The Church of the Wood"—and was founded by the mother church. This, although subordinate to the mother church, was not a mere branch, but was complete and self-constituted.

Now we come to yet another kind, namely, "Capel," or "Chapel," which, in no sense, was a settlement, but was merely a sanctuary for religious services. This, I personally believe, was purely of Latin origin, as I cannot find a trace of it in connexion with the Celtic Church before the time of the Normans. The name, moreover, is evidently from the French "capella," which primarily was a small building in the palace of Merovingian Kings, where the little cope of St. Martin was deposited. The name ultimately applied to any small building, and the Norman clergy applied it to small and subordinate church buildings in Wales, as they had already done in England, and as these buildings did not take the place of any Celtic building, the name "Capel" was readily accepted as a Welsh translation of "capella." The "Capel," as might be surmised, was subject to the "Llan," or, indeed, even to the "Bettws," when it was founded by the latter. It will be observed, moreover, that like "Eglwys," it was not a Celtic settlement—but was introduced in later days for Divine service only.

The independence of Wales and Welsh Churches vanished together.

Thus, at the time of the Reformation, the old Celtic system had practically disappeared, and the ancient Celtic Church had been destroyed—all this being consummated by the triumphal procession of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, through the Welsh dioceses, when his royal partner Edward took his triumphal procession through the Welsh counties. The independence of the country and church vanished together. From that hour, the Welsh Church, in all its ancient organism and essential entity, has been, to use Dr. Bright's graphic phrase, "absorbed into the body" of the English Church, although it was not "digested" legally until the Act of Henry VIII. It had been torn, dismembered, and mutilated beyond all recognition, and had then been swallowed piecemeal, apparently without any great effort by the English hierarchy, save a periodically momentary, and convulsive gulp, as each portion disappeared, until, by the Conquest of Edward I., the last remnant

was "absorbed." Still it was undigested until by the Act of Supremacy of Henry VIII., and the Act of Settlement of Elizabeth, it became assimilated into the body of the English Church, and the Church in Wales became what the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and many after him, have described as "only four dioceses in the province of Canterbury."

A ray of hope for religionwith the Accession of the House of Tudor.

At the accession of the House of Tudor, toward which the Welsh had contributed no insignificant a service on the field of Bosworth, there came a ray of hope for the cause of Religion in Wales, and, in one respect, this was gradually realised, not only by the introduction of Protestantism, but also by the fact that from the time of the Reformation down to the Revolution of 1688 the ministrations in the churches of Wales were mainly conducted in the language "understanded by the people." Thus this period presented a striking contrast to the time when the policy of Canterbury was dictated by the Pope and the Norman Kings. For instance, in the reign of Elizabeth, thirteen out of the sixteen bishops appointed to Welsh Sees were Welshmen. The natural consequence was that very largely Welsh clergymen were appointed to Welsh benefices. This example, however, was not closely followed by the Stuarts, for out of the thirty-eight appointed by them to Welsh Sees, only seventeen were Welshmen. But even this was a vast improvement upon the time of the Norman Kings, who rigidly abstained from appointing a single Welshman to a Welsh bishopric, once they had obtained for Canterbury supremacy over the Welsh Sees.

With regard to the Reformation itself, a few words may be necessary. It assumed different aspects, was produced by different causes, and resulted in different fundamental changes and new organizations in different countries. It began in England, under Henry VIII., by the abolition of the papal supremacy and papal control. Henry ascended the throne of England in 1509. In 1530 Cardinal Wolsey, legate to the Pope, and Lord Chancellor of England, was found guilty of violating his oath of loyalty by introducing the authority of the Pope to the detriment of the Royal prerogative, and the clergy of the kingdom were found guilty of having conspired with him, and forfeited their livings. The House of Convocation, greatly alarmed, offered payment of

£118,840* as fine to the King, but he refused to accept unless they recognized him as the Supreme Head of the Church of England. This they did on the King acceding to the modification implied in the additional words "so far as is allowed by the Law of Christ."

26 Hen. viii., c. 1.

In 1534 Henry's Supreme Headship was confirmed by Act of Parliament. This Act of Parliament gave to Henry VIII. what we are assured by Gardiner the Pope never "declared" himself to have possessed, namely, the Supreme Headship of the Church, but what, undoubtedly, he had clearly assumed by his acts, and what Henry, too, soon after this change, gave proof of personally possessing. By this time he took the place of the Pope in fact, and with explicit legal title, which the Pope had never possessed. Thus Henry became greater Pope than the Pope. The Chief Ruler of State became the Chief Ruler of the Church, "so far as is allowed by the Law of Christ—whatever significance that qualification may have had in an Act of Parliament. Thus the Church became, what Dr. Freeman emphatically says it is to-day, a Government Department as much as the Army is.

The Student's History of England. By S. R. Gardiner. p.386. 1895

Whatever the Pope claimed in so many words, there can be no doubt as to his having exercised jurisdiction over the Anglican Church by innumerable acts. He was replaced by Henry VIII., and during the reigns of Henry, Edward VI., and Elizabeth, there was, as I shall shew, a series of legal enactments, which culminated in the two famous Statutes of Elizabeth, and which were the nearest imaginable approach to disestablishment and disendowment, even if, technically, it may be held that they came short of that, for everybody who clung to the old order as previously established by law was disendowed as well as removed from his See or benefice—the only exception known among the bishops being Anthony Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff, the prototype of the immortal "Vicar of Bray." He was appointed by Henry VIII, turned Protestant under Edward VI., returned to Popery under Mary, and once again turned tail and became Protestant under Elizabeth. He thus survived all the disestablishments and disendowments that inevitably befel all the more conscientious bishops and clergy. As one writer observes: "It is clear that his constitution was as strong as his conscience was weak, for he reached the ripe old age of 90."

"Diwygwyr Cymru," by Beriah G. Evans, p. 22

Meanwhile, two or three Acts had been passed which had an

* This, according to J. R. Green, was equal to half a million of our money.—D.D.

important bearing upon the significance and force of this—namely, the Statute of Citations, which put an end to the authority of the Archbishop as legate of the Pope, and the Act for the Restraint of Appeals, which put an end to all appeals to Rome. 23 Hen.viii., c. 9 24 Hen.viii., c. 12

In 1534 the "Act for the Submission of the Clergy" was passed. It consisted of two parts: (1) Ecclesiastical Courts were replaced by State Courts—all were to appeal directly to the King instead of the Pope. (2) The agreement between the King and the clergy as to the King's Supreme Headship of the Church was confirmed, on which condition they retained their livings, while they, in the name of the Church, in return surrendered to the King for ever all their rights to introduce ecclesiastical legislation of any kind. 25 Hen.viii., c. 19

Co-temporary with the Act for the Submission of the Clergy, the "Act for the restraining of the payments of Annates or first fruits to the Pope" was passed. This is the Act by virtue of which the dean and chapter are to elect in each case the nominee of the Crown as archbishop or bishop, under penalty of *præmunire* if they decline. Yet the dean and chapter meet ostensibly to elect in each case, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, whereas in reality is is by the dictation of the Prime Minister—as the highest representative of the Crown—who, occasionally, has unfortunately been the very antipodes of our conception of that Spirit! 25 Hen.viii., c. 20

In 1534 Ina's ancient Tax of Peter's Pence was discontinued (viz., a penny from each to the Pope), while in 1535 was published the "Proclamation of Tythes and Oblations as well within the City of London, or elsewhere within the Realme." This enforced a tithe and offering on every one of age to take Communion. As Dr. Spinther James intimates, there is no mention of Wales in this Act, although there can be no doubt that it was included. In 1535, however, "The Statute of Tithes" was passed, in which Wales is specifically mentioned. This, he adds, is the first time we find an Act of Parliament for raising tithes in Wales. The Act for the Payment of Tithes, passed in 1548, in the reign of Edward VI., confirms the Statute of Tithes, and makes special reference to Wales, which casts a side-light upon the condition of the Principality at the time, for the last section abolishes the custom referred to by Giraldus Cambrensis, namely, the payment 25 Hen.viii., c. 21 "Hanes Hen Eglwys y Cymry," cyf. i, tud. 518 27 Hen. viii, c. 20 2 & 3 Ed.vi. c. 13

of tithes on marrying. This section refers to the Welsh clergy having in the past claimed tithe on animals and other possessions given as marriage dowers, which custom was contrary to that of every other part of the kingdom; but had been permitted in Wales when the country, through political disturbances and conflicts, had been left uncultivated and did not produce crops, which, in other circumstances, would have been sufficient. But now as that country was well tilled and cultivated, and as the tithes were being paid on wheat, hay, wool cheese, and all other produce, as well as on all increase of cattle, as in other parts of the realm, the former custom was pronounced painful and unreasonable, especially as the livings, apart from that, were sufficient for the support of ministers and curates. The latter statement throws a light upon the fact that before the working clergy were fleeced, chiefly by bishops and other dignitaries, their incomes sufficed to meet all their requirements.

It is also interesting to note that already, since the days of Giraldus, the clergy had managed, with the accustomed skill and persistency of ecclesiasts in all ages, to convert voluntary gifts into legal claims. This is very largely what has happened all along the centuries, yet in these later days we find the successors of those pious schemers give the credit of all to the bequests of "pious ancestors," who are supposed to have given tithe in perpetuity, a gift binding on all successors as a proof of their own personal self-denial and pious self-abnegation!

The next step of importance in connexion with the religious communities and corporations of this country was the Dissolution of the Latin Monasteries. This was brought about primarily, no doubt, largely because the most bitter opponents to the changes wrought by Henry VIII. were the abbots and monks of those monasteries. The vile reputation of the monasteries, especially of the smaller ones, as the homes of immorality and vice, supplied Henry with more than sufficient reason for their dissolution.

27 Hen.viii., c. 18

Henry VIII. had ample precedents in the Acts of Edward I. (1295), Edward II. (1324), Edward III. (1337), Richard II., Henry VI., for proceeding to dissolve the monasteries. Cardinal Wolsey, too, in 1523, with the approval of Henry and the Pope, had suppressed over twenty in order to endow Christ Church College,

Oxford. In 1536 all monasteries with a revenue of less than £200 per annum were dissolved, and all that belonged to them was transferred to the King, on condition "that they were to be used to the pleasure of God and to the honour and profit of this realm."

The larger monasteries, however, very soon came within the danger zone. The suggestion was assiduously spread at the desire of the King that they should be suppressed by voluntary surrender, with a tacit understanding that such a method, while preferable to the King, would be in the interests of living abbots and priors. The surrenders at first were gradual; but through some very suggestive hints from the Commissioners as to what would happen if all were not surrendered voluntarily, the number of so-called voluntary surrenders rapidly increased, especially when aided by the example of the treatment which had been meted out to the abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester. The Parliament, at the bidding of the King, ratified the surrenders up to date in April, 1539, and then allowed the King to extend the Act to all monasteries that had not voluntarily surrendered. By these two Acts 653 monasteries were dissolved, with an income of £250,000 per annum.

Here it should be noted that the abbots were envied by the landlords, and the monks disliked by the clergy. The inducements which the King therefore offered to a too subservient Parliament and nation was the promise of free gifts of estates, or estates by easy purchase, to the lords, large sops to members of the Commons, freedom from taxation to the people, and twenty-one Cathedrals, with Bishops, Deans, and Chapters for the Church. As a matter of fact, instead of the 21 Bishoprics, the King established six, viz., Westminster (which did not last long), Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester. The last five Bishoprics exist to-day as the outcome of this Act of spoliation. The Church clergy, as well as the Lords, Commons, and the people, all of whom were to reap so largely from the plunder, welcomed this drastic procedure—as some historians like Mr. Newell (apart from the motives of Henry) still view it—as "the day of retribution for the monks' plunder of the parochial clergy, for their worldliness and greed, for all their sins and all their unfashionable virtues." Even when the spiritual altitude of those who were to benefit by the

transaction did not rise to that high level of providential discernment, loyal encouragement was as readily extended to the King on the more mundane principle that "one good turn deserved another." It is, therefore, just a matter for the consideration of the Bishops of St. David's and St. Asaph whether at this time of day Church dignitaries can consistently say much by way of denunciation, concerning that transaction which was shady on the part of all concerned, and what I fear the late Dean Edwards in his vigorous trenchant style, would have called "a gross act of ecclesiastical jobbery."

It will be observed that the first consideration with Henry was his personal supremacy over the Church and clergy, and the rejection of all papal interference. He was not greatly concerned about the doctrine or ceremonial of the Church.. The teaching and observances were unaltered. All that Henry cared for was the transference of power and authority from the Pope to himself. The change was political and not spiritual, or even doctrinal or ceremonial. The dispute of Henry with the Pope, which centred in a lady, though not the cause, became the occasion of the Reformation, and that in a way which he never foresaw.

Henry's pride of learning, and his determination that the one link between the Church in England and Rome should be snapped, led him to take another very important and far-reaching step. Not satisfied with the New Testament translation of Tyndall, he commanded Miles Coverdale to produce a revised translation of the Scriptures, and by the command of the King an English copy was placed in every Church, as a bond of union with the throne, instead of the Latin version which connected each Church by past association, as well as by language, with Rome.

27 Hen.viii., c. 26 With the same shrewd insight that decided that the Scriptures should be read in English, he, by the Act of Union, secured that the proceedings of all courts in Wales should be in English, and that any official in the court who used the Welsh language in the fulfilment of his duties forfeited his salary.

In both cases his object was to secure his own supremacy; in the former case in the Church, in the latter in the State. There was as much Protestantism in one as the other—and that was nothing. It was Tudorism, pure and simple.

J. R. Green writes: "The import of the headship of the Church was brought fully out in one of the propositions laid before the Convocation of 1532. 'The King's Majesty,' runs this memorable clause, 'hath as well the care of the souls of his subjects as their bodies; and may by the law of God by his Parliament make laws touching and concerning as well the one as the other.'" He then speaks of "the series of measures which, in their rapid succession, changed the whole character of the English Church," and adds: "Step by step the ground had been cleared for the great Statute by which the new character of the Church was defined. The Act of Supremacy ordered that the King 'shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only head on earth of the Church of England, and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this realm as well as the title and state thereof as all the honours, jurisdictions, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity belong, with full power, to visit, repress, redress, reform, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction might or may lawfully be reformed.' Authority in all matters ecclesiastical, as well as civil, was vested in the Crown."

Short History of the English People, by J. R. Green, p. 336; 1895

Ibid, p. 337

Later on Green returns to the subject, and says: "Henry was the Head of the Church. From the Primate to the meanest deacon every minister of it derived from him his sole right to exercise spiritual powers. The voice of its preaching was the echo of his will. He alone could define orthoxy or declare heresy. The forms of its worship and belief were changed and re-changed at the royal caprice. Half of its wealth went to swell the royal treasury, and the other half lay at the King's mercy. . . . He was regarded as something high above the laws which govern common men. The voices of statesmen and of priests extolled his wisdom and power as more than human. The Parliament itself rose and bowed to the vacant throne when his name was mentioned. . . . When the Primate of the English Church described the chief merit of Cromwell, it was by asserting that he loved the King 'no less than he loved God.'"

Ibid, pp. 349 350; 1895

Macaulay gives expression to exactly the same view: "What Henry and his favourite counsellors meant, at one time, by the

Macaulay's History of England, vol. I, pp. 26, 27, ed. 1870

Supremacy, was certainly nothing less than the whole power of the Keys. The King was to be the Pope of the kingdom, the vicar of God, the expositor of Catholic verity, the channel of sacramental graces. . . . He proclaimed that all jurisdiction, spiritual, as well as temporal, was delivered from him alone, and that it was in his power to confer episcopal authority, and to take it away. . . . The King was the spiritual as well as the temporal chief of the nation. In both capacities His Highness must have lieutenants. As he appointed civil officers to keep his seal, to collect his revenues, and to dispense justice in his name, so he appointed divines of various ranks to preach the Gospel, and to administer the sacraments. It was unnecessary that there should be any imposition of hands. The King—such was the opinion of Cranmer, given in the plainest words—might, in virtue of authority derived from God, make a priest; and the priest so made needed no ordination whatever." So much for "the Apostolic Succession"!

It is indeed impossible for anyone to place any other intelligent construction upon the Act of Supremacy as given in part above. Henry's great care was not to establish Protestantism, but to oust the Pope. Meanwhile the Papists had the slender comfort left that the doctrines and the ceremonials of the Romish Church remained unaltered; while the Protestants had that small crumb of comfort that the Pope was repudiated.

In 1539 The Act of Six Articles was passed, by which transubstantiation, celibacy, private mass, auricular confession, &c., were enforced, and martyrdom was the penalty of refusal to subscribe to them. Thus wholesale persecution was everywhere rampant in spite of the fact that the Bible had been given to England. Papists were burnt for denying the King's Supreme Headship over the Church, and Protestants were burnt for refusing to subscribe to the Act of Six Articles. Meanwhile, there was a wholesale destruction of all Popish images and relics, while nothing by way of teaching was given to the Welsh people instead, and even the translation of the Bible into Welsh was deliberately delayed.

Thomas Cromwell kept both parties in check. The Papist, who denied the King's headship of the Church was led to the stake, while, when in 1539, the Act of the Six Articles was passed, the

denial of any one of them by any Protestant involved the same life penalty. Thus both sides were safe to suffer!

Meanwhile the two opposite religious parties had their champions—the Protestants in Cranmer, and the Papists in Gardiner. Cranmer published his great Bible in 1540, and Gardiner succeeded in making that largely inoperative by having an Act passed in 1543 forbidding the reading of it by the people, and further succeeded in limiting the power of the bishops to read and expound it, to what was defined as the essentials.

After the death of Henry in 1547, and the accession of Edward VI., Cranmer succeeded in obtaining the repeal of the Act of the Six Articles, removed Popish images, &c., and incorporated Protestant tenets in his 42 articles, afterwards reduced to the existing 39, and with an open Bible and Protestant form of worship the Reformation made great headway in England.

But meanwhile Wales was untouched by the Reformation. The translation of the Scriptures and the consequent increased knowledge of their contents, which had fostered the growth of Protestantism in England, had produced no effect on what was practically a *monoglot nation in Wales.*

During the reign of Mary, moreover, religion had practically reverted to the old Romish type which had prevailed for centuries. Elizabeth reversed matters again on her ascension, and, in furtherance of her father's policy, restored the old status. Her chief aim like her father's was to enforce her own Headship of the Church, although she never revived the Act which gave the Sovereign the title of "Supreme Head," and which had been repealed by Mary.* She cared little what became of Protestantism or Romish practices if only that was secured. The Papists had to submit to that or suffer. Then, in 1559, the Act of Uniformity was passed, prohibiting all other forms of worship except Edward VI.'s second Book of Prayer. Conformity to Church doctrine and ceremonial was enforced.

Elizabeth, in order further to nationalize the Church, and thus detach it from Rome, commanded that all services should be conducted in English, instead of Latin. Already there probably existed a

*Lord Selborne states that she "herself disliked that style, though she maintained, as jealously as her father, the power of the crown over the ecclesiastical as well as the cure state." "A Defence of the Church of England," by the Earl of Selborne p. 33.

Welsh MS. translation* of the Scripture by Thomas Llewelyn, and Salesbury's Version of the New Testament had been published. Elizabeth realized that by the authorized Translation of the Scripture under Royal Patronage into the language of Wales, the Church in Wales, which was still strongly favourable to the Pope, could be detached from that concealed allegiance and be bound more closely to her.

In 1549 the first Act of Uniformity was passed, to be succeeded by a second in 1559. Referring to Wales and the Act of Union of England and Wales, in 1535, followed by the first Act of Uniformity, Mr. Bund calls attention to the drastic change which these involved : "Under Henry VIII.'s legislation all Welsh laws became obsolete. . . Before the change was fully felt, or alteration fully realized, another followed, which had, if possible, as wide-reaching an effect, the setting up of a new religious system. . . . In Wales, the Act of Uniformity, whatever it did in England, established a new system of Church government wholly opposed to Welsh ideas. . . . Every tribesman, as a member of the tribe, had kept up Church as part of the tribal organization ; henceforth every man was to attend Church, because the Government ordered him to hear at Church what it pleased the Government to permit."

There can be no doubt that the old tribal religious system had been practically overruled; but until now no Act of Parliament had enforced the use of the same Prayer Book and conformity to the Articles of the Church in all religious services.

The reign of Mary reversed the relationship of Papists and Protestants ; but on the accession of Elizabeth, the Protestant Order was restored. Still under Protestant and Papist rule, the spiritual condition of Wales was equally dark. The Welsh people had ceased to respect a religion that could be changed in all its essential characteristics by the whim of the monarch that occupied the throne, who, while ready to punish with death those who differed from him in creed, cared nothing about the thousands who were lapsing into heathenism without either creed or religion.

Mr. Clarke epitomizes the whole situation : " Henry VIII., as Supreme Head of the Church of England, made no change in her

*A MS. containing gospel rhymes by Thomas Llywelyn, apparently based upon Tyndale's translation, has been found recently at Llanover. A prose MS. also probably existed, but it has not yet been found.—D.D.

doctrines, and the clergy received their tithes as hitherto for saying masses for the repose of the souls of the departed parishioners, granting absolution, teaching transubstantiation and doctrines as regards purgatory. The tithes and landed endowments were originally granted for teaching these doctrines. But in the reign of his son and Elizabeth, changes were made in both ritual and doctrines, and those incumbents who refused were deprived of their incumbencies and consequently of their tithes and other Church endowments. Their successors . . . were appointed on the condition of strictly complying with the Act of Uniformity, and of the doctrines enunciated in the 39 Articles. It was in virtue of such compliance that they were put in possession by Acts of Parliament of the tithes and other endowments of the Church which their predecessors had enjoyed. It was purely a change of usufructuary possessors without the least disturbance of property. The new tenant solemnly engaged to comply with the new laws of the Church; the old tenant refused, and had therefore to leave. The in-coming trustee held his endowments by a Parliamentary Title. . . . And as Parliament gave the title, it can also change the title."

Introduction, xxiii., Clarke's History of Tithes

Mr. Clarke, in his "History of the Church in Wales," further shews that not only no relief came to the poor clergy of Wales from the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of their own bishops and Cathedral dignitaries, but to these were added acts of spoliation in the interests of English bishoprics and colleges: "Not only were no steps taken to restore to the Principality those revenues of which she had most unrighteously been deprived—but the robbery in times of peace proved worse than the spoliation of the times of war, and the rapacity of the Reformation was added to the rapacity of Popery! In North Wales, the poor county of Merioneth was stripped—for the erection of the new bishopric of Lichfield—of tithes, nearly one-half of the whole income of all her resident clergy put together. Caernarvonshire was in like manner taxed for that of Chester, and the new bishops in other parts of England were pensioned upon South Wales. Whatever, in the present day, may be urged in defence of these abuses, they are still, what they were at first—mere remnants of servitude—an unjust tribute wrung from a poor country, to swell the wealth of one already immensely opulent, a tribute, not like that of 'wolves'

A History of the Church of Wales, by Rev. H. W. Clarke p. 145

heads,' which King Edgar is said to have exacted from our forefathers—but levied on the virtue, intelligence and civilization of our land! In other parts of North Wales the richest parishes were made the perquisites of English colleges, from which the Principality derives very little indeed—compared to the amount of her contribution. . . A perpetual tax was imposed on South Wales for the support of several of the English bishoprics, and the patronage of most of the puny endowments parcelled out . . . amongst bishops of English dioceses, sinecurists in England, and sinecurists of the Welsh Cathedrals. From such a system of patronage nothing could be expected by a corrupt and unpopular Church."

Dr. David Powell's Testimony, quoted by Rev. D. Jones, B.A.

Never has any church throughout the centuries had a better opportunity presented to her to fulfil her mission than the Church in Wales, had she been but true to her privileges and responsibilities. The Rev. David Jones, B.A., Rector of Llanfair and Llandyssilio, Anglesey, a friend and biographer of Dean Edwards, gives two apt quotations from the sixteenth century in confirmation of this. He writes: "The learned Dr. David Powell, who was chaplain to Sir Henry Sydney, Lord President of Wales, writes of his fellow-countrymen, 'For these people through an excellent natural disposition are always ready to hear, and apt to learn, and most willing to obey. If there is anything amiss in this respect, it is entirely due to the paucity of their pastors, who ought to instruct the people diligently, and towards whose maintenance there are ample stipends and ecclesiastical revenues in Wales, which are now diverted to a different use. (Annotations to Giraldus Cambrensis, Itiner. Camb. Ed., 1804, p. 23, first published in 1585).'

Morus Kyffin's Testimony.

"Morus Kyffin . . . goes on in the same strain as Dr. Powell, 'If the Gospel of Christ were preached in Wales as you and I have seen it in other countries, it is certain that there is no nation in Christendom that could surpass the Cymry in religion and godliness, and, by their very disposition and nature, they are eager to learn every virtue and goodness if taught and expounded to them.' (Dedication to William Meredyth, prefixed with his Welsh Translation of Jewell's Apology, first published in 1594.)

5 Eliz. cap. 28.

With regard to the time immediately following the Reformation, "The year 1563 was described as being probably darker than even 'in the time of Papistry.' In that year it was enacted that

the Bible, with the Book of Common Prayer, and the Administration of the Sacraments, should be translated into the Welsh tongue; should 'be viewed, perused, and allowed by the Bishops of St. Asaph, Bangor, St. David, Llandaff, and Hereford,' and should be 'printed and used in the churches' by the first of March, 1566, under a penalty in case of failure of forty pounds, to be levied on each of the five bishops. William Salesbury, an intimate friend of Dr. Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's, was engaged by the Bishops, and was partly assisted in the work by Dr. Davies, and probably by Thomas Huet, then precentor of St. David's, and vicar of Cefnllys and Disserth.

"Echoes from the Welsh Hills," pp. 139-140.

In 1567, or one year after the time appointed by Parliament for the publication of the Bible, and the Book of Common Prayer, the Welsh translation of the New Testament appeared.

Welsh Translation of the New Testament by William Salesbury.

With this exception, the work of translating the Scriptures was not done by the command of the Queen or the authority of Parliament. After a further lapse of 21 years, however, Dr. Morgan, vicar of Llanrhaiadr, Denbighshire, on his own responsibility brought out his Welsh Translation of the whole Bible in 1588. Although books were readily lent him by the Bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor, he had toiled amid much opposition on the part of his parishioners and other Churchmen, who considered that a translation of the Scriptures into Welsh would prolong the life of the Welsh language, and thus delay the union of the Welsh and English nations. Dean Goodman, Dr. David Powell, Edmund Prys, and Richard Vaughan, of Lutterworth, were welcome exceptions. Dr. Morgan, however, complained bitterly of the determined opposition he had received, which, he affirmed, would have paralized all his efforts and damped his courage, apart from sympathy and help he received from Archbishop Whitgift of Canterbury. He, moreover, characterized the bitter opposition he had received as the expression of "a cruel wish to allow God's people to perish, meanwhile, through most miserable famine of His Word. Besides," he added, "there can be no doubt that a community and agreement in religion is more potent for unity than is that of speech."

Welsh Translation of the Bible by Dr. Morgan and Dr. Parry.

Archdeacon Thomas, in referring to these words, says, "that for their continued applicability to our bilingual state," they "deserve . . . to be engraved on the conscience of every occu-

pant of our bilingual Sees, and every incumbent of our bilingual parishes." Yet it is entertaining to note that the very people who even to-day adopt the theory upheld by Dr. Morgan's bitter and determined opponents, take to the Welsh Church the flattering unction of having given the Bible to the Welsh people, when, apart from the fact that even an English Archbishop saw the folly of the opposition, in which they still persisted, Dr. Morgan would have been utterly thwarted by his own brethren in his arduous and heroic efforts!

' History of the Diocees of St. Asaph," by Archdeacon Thomas, p. 95, new edition

This Version consisted of Dr. Morgan's own translation of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, and a revised edition of Salesbury's version of the New Testament. Thirty-two years later, namely, in 1620, Dr. Richard Parry, the successor of Dr. Morgan as Bishop of St. Asaph, assisted by his learned chaplain, Dr. John Davies, published a revised edition of the Welsh Bible, practically the Authorised Translation now in use. But even when all this had been done, the neglected condition of Wales was exceedingly sad, as will be shewn.

It was in this benighted period and during the reign of Elizabeth, that John Penry, the morning star of Welsh Nonconformity, appeared above the horizon, when gross darkness brooded over the land. In the same year (1587) as that in which Bishop Hughes, of St. Asaph, was found to have appropriated to himself sixteen of the richest livings *in commendam*, and most of the other rich livings were in the possession of those who lived out of the country; while one, who had two of the largest livings, lived in an ale-house—by no means a unique case in Wales—John Penry published a pamphlet on the spiritual destitution of Wales, addressed to Queen Elizabeth and Parliament. In it he speaks of non-resident clergymen being the rule, and not the exception—only three being resident in their parishes in the whole of the diocese of St. Asaph—clergymen, moreover, unable to preach, ignorant of the Gospel, immoral in life, and unacquainted with the Welsh language. As the result, he affirms: "Thousands of our people know Jesus Christ to be neither God nor man, priest nor prophet, almost never heard of Him. O! desolate and forlorn condition. Preaching in many parts is quite unknown. In some places a sermon is read once in three months." To amend matters, he urged a plan

John Penry on the Spiritual Destitution of Wales. See also his "Exhortation unto the people," Ed. 1588, p. 31.

for the evangelization of this country. But the pamphlet was seized and Penry arrested. This was but the beginning of the end, for after being released he was again imprisoned on false issues—namely, of being the author of the "Martin Marprelate Tracts,"—was, in the words of Sir Thomas Phillips, "subjected to a trial which disgraces the name of English justice," &c.— and was ultimately martyred at Thomas a Watering, on May 29, 1593, at the early age of 33. He died a martyr for his country, his people, and his God, at the instigation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his priestly associates.

"Wales," by Sir Thos. Phillips, p. 99; 1849

The martyrdom of Penry, 1593.

With his last breath he prayed for his wife and four little daughters so soon to be widowed and orphaned; prayed, too, for his country and people, steeped in heathenish darkness, and then at the early age, I repeat, of 33—the age his Lord had suffered and died at the hands of wicked men—he laid down his life in attestation of the truth he taught, and for his love of his God and nation. Such an iniquitous and cruel deed as that could not but bring ultimately its own Nemesis upon the proud hierarchy that wrought it. John Penry's prayer has been answered ever since. Throughout succeeding generations Wales has steadily "mewed her youth" by the ministry of men who have sprung from the soil with the startling suddenness and miraculous might of the ancient fabled dragon teeth, not to destroy, but to deliver a nation that had become the hopeless prey of its alien ecclesiasts. When Penry was "done to death" at Thomas a Watering, there might have been heard from the heavens by men of quickened ear the warning which Milton, 44 years later, gave as the message of "The Pilot of the Galilean Lake," over Lycidas.

Milton's "Lycidas"

"How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,
Enow of such as for their bellies' sake
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold?
Of other care they little reckoning make
Than how to scramble at the shearer's feast,
And shove away the worthy bidden guest;
Blind mouths, that scarce themselves know how to hold
A sheephook, or have learn'd ought else the least,
That to the faithful herdman's art belongs!
What recks it them? What need they? They are sped;
And when they list, their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw;
The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,

But swollen with wind and the rank mist they draw,
Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread;
Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said:
But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more!"

Dr. Lewis Bailey's Journal, 1623.

In 1623, thirty years after the martyrdom of Penry, the country was, if anything, worse than in his day, as the journal of Dr. Lewis Bailey, Bishop of Bangor, abundantly shows. Those sad revelations of the wicked neglect and degradation of the clergy, and the ignorance of the people, were full of sickening details. Rees Pritchard, the godly vicar of Llandovery, 30 years still later, in his "Welshman's Candle," was unsparing in his exposure and denunciation of the clergy and the upper classes, and the total neglect of the people. A pamphlet, written by John Lewis, of Glasgrug, in 1646, also more than confirms all.

No Bibles except in Churches.

Llewelyn's Historical Account of the British or Welsh Version of the Bible, p. 37; 1793

Dr. Thomas Llewelyn writes: "For upwards of *seventy years* from the settlement of the Reformation by Queen Elizabeth, for near *one hundred years* from Britain's separation from the Church of Rome, there were no Bibles in Wales, but only *in the Cathedrals or parish churches and chapels.* There was no provision made for the people in general, as if they had nothing to do with the Word of God, at least, no further than they might hear it in their attendance on public worship once a week. This was from a desire to annihilate the Welsh language."

Clergymen unable to read or write Welsh.

Concerning the period more than twenty years still later, namely, 1621—one hundred and twenty years after The Reformation—the Rev. John Edwards, a well-known clergyman of that day, confesses that barely one in fifteen of the clergymen of Wales could either read or writeWelsh. He was one of the clergy ejected, under the Commonwealth, by the Parliamentary Committee for Scandalous Ministers; thus his confession will be readily admitted as being well within the limits of truth.

Ejection of Craddock, Wroth and Erbury.

Laud's Lambeth MSS., vol. 943 Jan. 2, 1634, also Jan. 2, 1635

In the year 1633, Walter Cradock, curate of St. Mary's, Cardiff, was deprived of his "licence to serve the cure." And five years later William Wroth, Rector of Llanvaches, and William Erbury, vicar of St. Mary's, Cardiff, were ejected, according to Laud's Lambeth MSS., for preaching "schismatically and dangerously to the people," their bishop, William Murphy, having "preferred articles against them in the High Com-

mission Court." Vicar Pritchard—probably through the influence of the Earl of Essex—alone, of all the noble men who lifted up their voices against the evils in the church, and the consequent degradation of their age, was tolerated.

"Vavasor Powell, the Welsh Evangelist of the 17th century," by myself

Vavasor Powell followed their example, and became one of the mightiest evangelists Wales has ever seen. He suffered most, "in labours more abundant . . . in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness," until, at last, with impaired health through hardships endured, he died prematurely in 1670.

The Church persecuting evangelists; but not herself evangelizing.

The late Bishop of Bangor at the Swansea Church Congress, 1879. Report pp. 351-352.

When archbishops and bishops and the officers of the State were busily engaged in persecuting these and other faithful men, the church itself did nothing to evangelise the people. It only persecuted those who did. The Bishop of Bangor, in 1879, at the Church Congress in Swansea (Report, pp. 351-352), referring to the period immediately following, said: "The people of Wales had transferred to the Stuart dynasty the loyalty which, since the accession of the House of Tudor, had bound them to the British Throne. In order to suppress this feeling, bishops were systematically introduced who were zealous supporters of Revolution principles, but who were strangers to the country, had little sympathy with its inhabitants, and, therefore, were considered less as chief pastors of the Church of Christ, than as abettors of a secular polity. Of these Bishop Hoadley is conspicuous, even if an extreme, example . . During the six years of his holding the Bishopric of Bangor he never resided in the diocese. . . . [All this] helped to prepare the way for the condition of things which ripened into the secession of a large portion of the people. . . . 'In many of the churches,' according to Howell Harris, there was no sermon for months together.'" Had the Bishop said this at the time, he, like John Penry, before him, would have lost his life for his candour. But, in fact, all this is but a mild statement of the truth, as the following will shew.

"Carwr y Cymry," 1677.

In 1677 a book was published entitled "Carwr y Cymry" ("A Lover of the Welsh People"), attributed to a clergyman, Rev. Oliver Thomas. In the introduction, which is an earnest appeal to Churchmen, he says: "Give me permission to say,

what pains me to be obliged to say, that in each of the Welsh bishoprics, 40, or even 60 churches may be found without anyone in them on Sundays, even in the middle of the summer, when the roads are driest and the weather finest."

Dr. Erasmus Saunders on state of Religion, 1721.

In 1721 Dr. Erasmus Saunders, a clergyman of note, and a dignitary in the Diocese of St. David's, in his "View of the state of religion in the Diocese of St. David's about the beginning of the eighteenth century," gives a most vivid and deplorable description of the delapidated and ruinous state of the church buildings. He states: "There are some churches which are totally neglected, and that very rarely, if at all, have any service performed in them, and which, if they are not converted into barns or stables . . . do only serve for the solitary habitations of owls and jackdaws." Having then mentioned seven churches by name, answering to this description, he proceeds: "Churches, most of them demolished, and even the use for which they were intended almost forgotten, unless it be at Llanybree, where, I am informed, the impropriator, or his tenant, have (*sic*) let the church unto the neighbouring Dissenters, who are very free to rent it for the desirable opportunity and pleasure of turning a church into a conventicle."

From the tone of the last sentence, it appears doubtful whether or not the turning of churches into conventicles by Dissenters was not a calamity to be dreaded, in the estimation of the worthy Doctor, even more than their "demolishment," or "their conversion into barns and stables," or even to "solitary habitations of owls and jackdaws." It is, at least, an ungracious reference. But probably the doctor, from his church proclivities and up-bringing, could not help it. In any case, the picture he supplies is evidently drawn by a devout and earnest Churchman, who felt keenly the sadness and humiliation of it all; for, having further referred to the degeneracy of the clergy, of some Christian services, totally disused, others occasionally used, and prayers partly read once a month, once a quarter, or once a year, he pathetically adds: "Such is the faint shadow that remains among us for the public service of religion."

Yet, in the face of all the dismal facts detailed above, and many more that might be cited, the present Bishop of St. Asaph,

in a paper read at the Church Congress in Manchester, and therefore at a time when, if ever, he might be supposed to put a slight curb upon his romantic imagination, said: "*Historically, it is a fact—we deal with solid and unquestioned facts—that 200 years ago, the whole Welsh nation were Churchmen: not, remember, nominal Churchmen, but conspicuously loyal and devoted Churchmen*" p. 3.) This Bishop is an appropriate successor to Geoffrey of Monmouth, but presents a strange contrast to his great brother, the late Dean Edwards of Bangor—having apparently his imagination, but having little of his power of vision and eloquence, and none of his grip of facts. He is specially alluring whenever he attempts to deal with "solid and unquestioned facts." This bishop's "facts" are generally stranger than fiction. He uses a large brush, and an unconscionable supply of gamboge, so that the dark pictures drawn by accredited historians, and contemporaries of unquestioned integrity, of his own church, are simply daubed over, and every detail hidden by a kind of crude Turnerian mist, that is made to represent the glory of a golden age! It is surely to such men, if not, indeed, to the very man, that Mr. Willis Bund refers when he speaks of "defenders of the Establishment," who "use general language in historical matters" rather "than condescend to particulars," and who "are allowed to apply and misapply history as they think fit." This is an audacious instance of the truth of those words.

The Bishop of St. Asaph at the Manchester ChurchCongress, 1888. Report, p. 3

The Bishop's crude Turnerian Mist.

In defiance of facts, well known to the historian, concerning one of the most benighted and degraded periods in the history of the Church in Wales—a period of unutterable gloom, which made the devout men of that day well-nigh hopeless—this master of the mythical art, at the great durbar at Manchester, presented a glowing pre-millennial picture, at which English dignitaries and clergy, and, possibly, a few Welsh ones—poor innocents!—looked with adoring wonder, and went home with bright dreams of the preternatural glory of the Church in Wales two hundred years ago! How often since then has that picture been re-presented by those willing pupils to wondering audiences at Welsh Church Defence meetings! And so the flattering delusion is promulgated and spread even unto this day!

His pre-millennial picture of the Welsh Church in 1688!

The fact is, that not only before, but also during and since that period, the nation suffered irreparably, not only from the

appointment of alien bishops and clergy, from absentees, pluralities, sinecure rectors, and the deadly blight that came in the train of those scandalous abuses. It also grievously suffered from the fact that the bishops sent to Wales were, as a rule, appointed on the distinct understanding that Welsh Sees were the recognised stepping-stones for English favourites to further promotions, and that Welsh benefices could with impunity be filled with bishop's relatives and photégés. A Welsh bishopric, therefore, was not taken seriously as an episcopal responsibility, but as a convenient port in a storm—or, perchance, a dead calm—into which favourite craft, in danger of being stranded, could be towed.

Sinecure Welsh Bishoprics and livings.

Thus it is a notorious fact, that bishops, and often their favourite clergy, never or, if at all—they very seldom—visited their Sees or benefices. And even when they did visit them, it was only during the open season, when they could enjoy the sport—for few could equal them as "shots" and anglers, and none were their equal at sampling a bottle of port. During the rest of the year the clergy were peacefully ensconsed in their English domiciles, and the Bishops, in their London residences, ever on the alert for vacancies in richer English Sees, and ever ready for the necessary wire-pulling for promotion at the psychological moment.

"Translations" of Welsh Bishops by the Georges

As a necessary corollary to all this, the Welsh dioceses were utterly neglected, and the Sees were practically unoccupied. The most notorious period of all, as a matter of fact, immediately followed upon the golden age so glowingly epitomized at Manchester by the Bishop of St. Asaph. It was the most glaring period for the ever-recurring and most bare-faced translations from Welsh Sees to more lucrative English ones, and the dumping into the vacated Welsh Sees of other English aspirants, who were to be worthy followers of their predecessors on the rungs of the episcopal ladder. The following summary of appointments and translations during the Georgian era will clearly show this.

George I., six bishops were appointed, and all were translated to English Sees, and one to another Welsh See.

George II., twenty bishops appointed, fifteen translated to English Sees.

George III., twenty-three bishops appointed, eleven translated to English Sees, and one to another Welsh See.

George IV., five bishops appointed, one translated to an English See.

George IV. did not live long enough to indulge in many "translations." But, speaking of the Georgian era as a whole, we find that when these imbecile monarchs occupied the throne of England, the occupiers of Welsh Sees found their occupation of them short and sweet. It will be observed that very few remained long enough in their Welsh Sees to have a chance of being translated to heaven, and it is not recorded how many, if any, were really so translated. They had no ambition in that direction. Their heaven, as a rule, was a fat bishopric in England, and verily they had their reward.

It will be convenient here to pause, and take a general review of the great movements in Wales from the close of the seventeenth until the middle of the nineteenth century.

The accession of William, Prince of Orange.

The landing of the Prince of Orange, on November 5, 1688, was the signal of a new hope for Wales and Welsh Nonconformity. The Nonconformists had done their part to overthrow the House of Stuarts and place William the Prince of Orange on the throne of England. The result was a far more tolerable attitude on his part toward Nonconformists. The Act of Toleration received the royal sanction May 24, 1689. This was defective in many respects; but it was such a marvellous step in the direction of religious liberty that it was hailed with delight by all Nonconformists, especially in Wales. It was the signal for renewed zeal and vigour in the pulpit and the press. Large and commodious places of worship were built on more prominent sites. The Nonconformists were still exposed to insult by the mob, who were too often excited to violence by squire and parson; but all this they bravely stood, now that the iron hoof of the law was no longer upon their necks.

Thomas Gouge and his co-workers.

The labours of the ever-increasing band of evangelists and preachers, and the schools which had been established by Thomas Gouge, and his fellow-workers, awakened a great interest in, and yearning for, religious knowledge. About forty thousand copies of the Welsh Bible, in various editions, were distributed in Wales within fifteen years of the passing of the Act of Toleration. This vigorous aggressive work in preaching the Gospel and the distribution of the Scriptures in the people's own tongue continued until the commencement of the eighteenth century.

Griffith Jones, Daniel Rowlands and William Williams driven out of Church.

The great Methodist Revival, beginning in 1730, with the eloquent appeals and earnest labours of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror —whose circulating schools, as well as preaching, did so much for Wales—Daniel Rowland of Llangeitho, Howell Harries of Trevecca (the founder of Calvinistic Methodism), William Williams of Pantycelyn (the Isaac Watts of Wales), and others, wrought a mighty change in Wales. Philip Pugh, a Nonconformist minister of Llangeitho, was the first, by his powerful ministry, to make Daniel Rowland dissatisfied with his own preaching. This dissatisfaction culminated in the great change which took place in Daniel Rowland, when, at the age of 24, he heard Griffith Jones at Llanddewi Brefi Church.

Griffith Jones was the most powerful preacher of his day—indeed, *the* one in an age of mediocrities, when the nation languished for want of spiritual guidance and teaching, who stirred the people. The result was that he was bitterly persecuted by his brother-clergymen, his bishop silently acquiescing. Indeed (with what evidence I am unable to trace), his bishop was openly accused of actively encouraging Rev. John Evans, Rector of Eglwys Cymmun, in the publication of a well-known scurrilous pamphlet, in which he called Mr. Jones by all the vile epithets which a virulent tongue could command. One thing is clear, this scandalous attack never drew a reprimand from the bishop.

The title to that scurrilous pamphlet reveals the attitude of Churchmen toward the Circulating Schools, because of their supposed spread of Methodism : " Some Account of the Welsh Charity Schools and the Rise and Progress of Methodism in Wales, through the means of them, under the Sole Management and Direction of Griffith Jones, Clerk, Rector of Llanddowror, in Carmarthenshire, in a Short History of that Clergyman as a Clergyman."

Mr. Jones, in his *Welsh Piety* for 1741, 25 years after he was appointed Rector of Llanddowror, sadly complained of the way in which the bishops had discountenanced his labours. He ministered during a strenuous ministry extending over fifty-three years, under nine successive monoglot English bishops at St. David's, who were little in touch with a monoglot Welsh-speaking population. Although Griffith Jones did a mighty work, not only in preaching as no man of his day did, but also in establishing, in

1730, his Circulating Schools for the instruction of an utterly neglected nation, he received no mark of recognition, but only the frowns of the Church dignitaries and wealthy laymen.

Yet we hear much to-day from the Bishop of St. David's and his brother of St. Asaph, of the great debt that the nation owes to the Church so far back as the Circulating Schools of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, upon the excellence of whose work, and its long continuance they dwell with considerable eloquence. Surely, they know all the while, or ought to know, that those schools were initiated and carried on, in spite of the chilling disapproval of the Church, and that the front of Mr. Jones' offence was that he accepted the co-operation of Nonconformist Teachers in the conduct of those schools—in other words, that the very point for which Griffith Jones contended with the Church dignitaries of his day is that for which Nonconformists are contending with the successors of those dignitaries to-day, namely, that there should be no denominational tests for teachers !

In view of the claims made by modern prelates as to the services rendered by the Church in Wales through Griffith Jones' Circulating Schools, it is well to state what occurred on the death of Mr. Jones, after the systematic boycott which he and his work received during his life. He died in 1761, and left £7,000 for the promotion of the Circulating Schools, which were so near to his heart. He appointed Mrs. Bridget Bevan as Trustee. She continued the work during her life-time, and in her will appointed a Mrs. Stepney and three gentlemen as Trustees. Mrs. Stepney refused to apply Mrs. Bevan's property according to the wish of the testator. The schools collapsed in 1779, and the estates were put in Chancery. The two legacies then amounted to £17,000. In 1809, when the £17,000 had increased to £30,524, the Court authorized the founding of Madam Bevan's Charity.

For six years after the collapse of the Circulating Schools, during which period the Church authorities positively did nothing to revive or replace this noble work, the Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala, in 1785, on joining the Calvinistic Methodists, because within a few months of each other he had been turned out of three curacies, as he himself stated, "without the prospect of another," commenced to revive the Circulating Schools on a small scale.

This is the service for which we are bidden by the Bishop of St. David's to pay tribute to the Church in Wales as the Church which provided and sustained for the nation the Circulating Schools in those dark days!

Daniel Rowland and William Williams, following the example of Griffith Jones, sought to continue their powerful ministries within the pale of the Established Church, as they had begun; but it became impossible to do so. Griffith Jones, being a rector could only be ejected by legal process; but Daniel Rowland and Williams were mere curates, and thus their positions were made untenable by bishops, patrons, and rectors, for their evangelistic zeal, which overstepped alike all recognised episcopal parish boundaries, and prevailing ecclesiastical proprieties.

In view of the fact that it is often asserted by defenders of the Welsh Church that Daniel Rowland and William Williams were never driven from the Church, or, indeed, that they, especially William Williams, never ceased to be Churchmen, it is important to draw attention to the fallacy of this assertion. In one sense, as stated elsewhere, the Methodists did not finally break off with the Church until 1811. It was then, and not before, that they formed themselves into a separate denomination; but to say that until then they were Churchmen, is to play with words and trifle with well established historic facts. Their movements and decisions were quite apart from, and in defiance of, all episcopal authority. Revs. Daniel Rowland and William Williams were Churchmen only in the sense that all Methodists were Churchmen. They were itinerant preachers in connection with that community, which as yet had not formulated a constitution and formed a denomination; but they, like the people to whom they belonged, repudiated all episcopal interference after they had left the ministry of the Established Church.

A brief record of the events that led to their resigning their ministry which, through the intolerance of bishops and patrons, had become insufferable to them, may be useful here. Daniel Rowland, of Llangeitho, born in 1713, was ordained deacon when 20 years old. He was in the earlier years of his curacy greatly benefited by intercourse with Philip Pugh, Congregational minister, who became his intimate friend. At the age of 24, or 25, his whole

course was changed as the result of hearing a sermon preached by Rev. Griffith Jones, and, like his great prototype, he preached irrespective of parish boundaries, wherever he was urged to preach the Gospel. Upon the sudden death, through drowning, of his brother John, in 1760, to whom he had been curate for 27 years, a petition was presented to Bishop Squire, the patron of the living of Llangeithio, to appoint him. But the Bishop refused because of Daniel Rowland's irregularities in preaching outside his own parish. The living was given to Daniel Rowland's son, who was 27 years of age, and he remained curate to his son for three years.

One Sunday morning in 1763, during a service in Llanddewi, two clergymen entered the church and handed a letter under the hand of the Bishop to Mr. Rowland as he was entering the pulpit. It was an injunction prohibiting him to preach. He read the letter, and then announced to the congregation that, as he had been prohibited by the Bishop to preach to them, he obeyed. He then resolved finally to leave the ministry of the Church. A large chapel was at once raised for him (in 1764) within a quarter of a mile of the church, where he ministered mightily until his death in 1790. That chapel exists as a Methodist Chapel to-day. Bishop Burgess confessed that his predecessor was guilty of great folly in the course he took regarding Daniel Rowland. And yet we are told to-day that Daniel Rowland was never driven from the Church, and Archdeacon Bevan's guess is recorded as gospel truth: "What I suppose to have happened was this. He was curate to his brother John, who died in 1760. I assume that Daniel's license expired then, and that it was not afterwards renewed." Evidently this great authority among Churchmen, whose guesses are accepted as oracles, knew nothing of the events to which I have referred, but which are familiar to everyone who has the slightest knowledge of the circumstances connected with the great Methodist revival.

Again, with reference to Rev. William Williams. He was born in 1717, of Nonconformist parents, and converted in Talgarth Churchyard by the preaching of Howel Harries, only three years his senior. The Rev. E. Morgan, Vicar of Syston, in his Ministerial Record of Mr. Williams, writes:—"Williams was ordained deacon in the year 1740, by Dr. N. Claget, Bishop of St. David's,

"Ministerial Record, &c., of the Rev. W. Williams." By Rev. E. Morgan, M.A. pp. 12-15. 1847.

to the curacies of Llanwrtyd and Llanddewi Abergwesin. . . He used, however, to say with much pleasantry that he was put into the Bishop's Court for nineteen transgressions when he was serving at Llanwrtyd; all this was done by the enemies of the Gospel, in order to get rid of one who was sent to them for the best purposes. . . Williams never received full orders. The Bishop refused Priest's Orders, because he preached in other places, besides the parishes under his own immediate care. It was chiefly by the celebrated Whitfield that he was encouraged to become an itinerant preacher. . . It was after this departure from the Church, whether voluntary or not, that he became acquainted with the eminent Rev. Daniel Rowland, who preached occasionally at the chapel of Ystradffin, which is in the parish where Williams resided. . . From the time he left the Church he incessantly travelled through Wales. . . Williams regularly went on thus labouring in the work and doctrine of the Lord among the Calvinistic Methodists."

He was twenty-six years old when he broke off his connection with the ministry of the Established Church, after having been refused Priest's Orders by the Bishop, and thus being penalized for his religious zeal, and thwarted in his evangelistic efforts, and in the records of the Watford Association, held in 1743, we find the minute endorsing his action in giving up the curacies of Llanwrtyd and Llanddewi Abergwesin, and becoming an assistant to Mr. Rowland in his great work of itinerant preaching.

To both these men curacies in the Establishment were made untenable, and all further promotion was permanently blocked, except at the cost of severing all connexion with the great Methodist movement. They chose the latter, and paid the cost. Once outside the church they traversed Wales, and aroused the whole nation out of its death-like sleep. "Those were glorious days! In them Calvinistic Methodism was born. It was the offspring of the simple and earnest Christianity of those times. Other denominations, who had done noble work in the country, were greatly blessed by that revival; they were aroused out of their formality into which many of the churches and ministers had fallen. They caught the spirit of those great men, and became a mightier power for good in the land. The Established Church was the only re-

"Echoes from the Welsh Hills," p. 257.

The Church doomed to blindness.

ligious community which gained nothing from that memorable movement. She seems to have been doomed to blindness in deliberately and repeatedly casting from her bosom her greatest, and, at one time, most loyal sons, who vainly sought her loving shelter; and who, when cast out, became the foremost evangelists of the day. They were rejected by the Church, and, in return, the Church was rejected by the people."

The forerunners of the Methodist Revival.

This great movement was largely made possible by the earnest labours of Nonconformist evangelists and pastors during the preceding century. It is a striking fact that Griffith Jones' parents were members of a Nonconformist church near, or at, Henllan; that Daniel Rowland, as already intimated, although trained for the Church, was first of all influenced by the thrilling apostolic ministry of Philip Pugh, the pastor of five Nonconformist churches in Llangeitho and the neighbourhood; and that William Williams, of Pantycelyn, was a son of a prominent deacon of the Independent church at Cefnarthen, and was educated at the Nonconformist Academy of Llwynllwyd, Radnorshire, near Llandovery; and that even Howell Harries, although a son of the Established Church, was greatly influenced in his course by the example and fellowship of those other great preachers who were his "companions in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ." It is not too much to say that the work commenced a century before by William Wroth, William Erbury, Walter Cradock, Vavasor Powell, Morgan Lloyd, John Myles, and others, although it languished in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, was that which made the great Methodist Revival a glorious possibility. The ground had been largely prepared for the seed, and the seed itself was close at hand for the great sowers, who now, with a new-born zeal and courage, scattered it broadcast over the land.

Philip Pugh.

The Evangelists of the 17th Century.

Nonconformists persecuted.

Nonconformists in general, and Calvinistic Methodists in particular, suffered bitter persecution, almost without intermission, from the time of that great revival till the early part of the nineteenth century. The Methodists suffered even more than others, partly because they were the most prominent in the movement, and because at first they hesitated to identify themselves with the Nonconformists, and thus failed to avail themselves like other denominations of the benefits of the Act of Toleration.

The Methodist Revival, which had commenced in 1730, and

The Methodist Revival, Daniel Rowland and Howell Harries, David Jones, Thomas Charles, Dr. Edward Williams and Dr. George Lewis.

had continued unabated until 1745, unfortunately suffered a lapse for seventeen years, through a misunderstanding between Daniel Rowland and Howell Harries; but in 1762 a powerful revival once more originated at Llangeithio, and speedily spread over Wales. Great results attended the preaching of David Jones of Llangan, and the educational and evangelistic efforts of Thomas Charles of Bala, who supplemented the Sunday Schools first established by Dr. Edward Williams in 1786—and afterwards converted into Circulating Day Schools by Dr. George Lewis, Llanuwchllyn—with other Sunday Schools, which led up to their universal adoption throughout Wales.

Christmas Evans, John Elias, William Williams of Wern, &c.

Following in the train of these movements came the mighty ministries of Christmas Evans, John Elias, William Williams of Wern, David Davies of Swansea, Ebenezer Morris, and many others, who transformed the whole country in the early decades of the last century, and prepared the way for the immediate succession of great and holy men, who unitedly, by their consecrated gifts and thrilling eloquence, as well as burning zeal, did their part to make Wales what it was fifty years ago.

Subsequent great preachers.

These men again were followed by noble phalanxes of great preachers and religious leaders, far too numerous to mention, belonging to all denominations of Free Churches, but whose names, and the records of whose lives are handed down to us as rich heirlooms. They were men who, for pulpit gifts, intensity of zeal, and untiring toil, are recognised to-day as being among the foremost of the preachers of their day in any land. It is pre-eminently to their noble and self-denying efforts that Wales religiously is what it is to-day.

The inaction of the Established Church.

We shall now see what has been the record of the Established Church in Wales, not only during the Norman, Plantagenet, and Tudor periods, but for the last two hundred years, since, as the result of the ameliorating circumstances secured by the Toleration Act, Nonconformity lifted up its head, and the Methodist Revival later on gave an impetus to free and evangelical Christianity in our land—an impetus, which has, with but few pauses, gained in intensity and force until now.

What, I now ask, did the Church of England in Wales do during these stirring events, and great national religious up-

heavals? One thing we have clearly seen, namely, that those whose souls were stirred within them at the spiritual desolation of their country, and the pitiable ignorance and degradation of their countrymen, and, as the result, became almost desperate in their attempt to stem the flood of heathenism that had swept over the land, were systematically traduced, persecuted, and excommunicated by the English archbishop and the Welsh bishop. But what else was done? What did the clergy attempt to accomplish in the direction of evangelization, while they were denouncing the unconventional methods of John Penry, William Wroth, William Erbury, Walter Cradock, Vavasor Powell, Marmaduke Mostyn, Ambrose Mostyn, Henry Walter, Richard Symonds, Robert Powell, &c., and after them Griffith Jones, Daniel Rowland, Howell Harries, William Williams, of Pantycelyn, and still later Christmas Evans, William Williams, of Wern, and John Elias, and a host of others who have made Wales what it is? One illustrious exception in the policy of utter inaction was Rees Pritchard, of Llandovery, in the seventeenth century, and even he found far greater sympathy outside the church than within it. With a soul set aflame with righteous indignation, he denounced the clergy in scathing words. But all the while positively nothing was done by the bishops, dignitaries, and clergy of the land to evangelise the people. There were plenty of hirelings in the pastoral offices of the Established Church; but in the words of Milton, "the hungry sheep looked up, and were not fed."

Rees Pritchard of Llandovery: the illustrious exception.

"Canwyll y Cymru," 1629.

"During the whole of the eighteenth century the total number of Welsh Bibles printed under the auspices of the Church amounted to 80,000." This statement by Archdeacon Pryce is startling, taken side by side with his contention that Judge Johnes was wrong when he stated "that before the rise of Welsh Methodism, the Churches were as little attended by the great mass of people as now"; that on the contrary "there were as yet no signs that the Church had lost its hold over the people; no apparent falling off in the number of worshippers." If that be so, then imagine the criminality of the Church in neglecting to print more than 800 copies a year for the whole of Wales—before and after the Methodist Revival—if only for its own worshippers! It should be noted, moreover, that until the last year of the nineteenth century, that

The Ancient British Church. By Archdeacon Pryce, M.A. p. 265.

is, for 99 years, only 50,000 had been printed, making an average of 505 copies a year for the whole of Wales. The truer representation of facts, however, undoubtedly is that the Church had lost its hold on the people, and that it had neither the energy, nor the immediate demand from its own adherents, to print more. Nor did it do, what all other denominations set themselves to accomplish in the latter half of the century, namely, establish Sunday Schools wherein young and old were taught.

The Story of Mary Jones and her Bible, and the consequent founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to which I have devoted a whole chapter in my "Echoes from the Welsh Hills," contrasts strikingly with this apathy.

Scathing contemporary description of the Clergy. "Considerations," &c. Ed. 1768, p 155. "The Love of our Country." By Ieuan Brydydd Hir, 1773. pp. 20, 27.

Rev. J. Jones, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, in a pamphlet which he published in 1768, says: "We find the gay, the licentious, the man of this world, acquire preferment by venial and simoniacal means, by borough interest, or, if he can pander for the pleasures of a great man, if he can with spaniel-like adulation, that is a disgrace not only to Christianity, but to humanity itself, fawn and cringe to his patron, praise what he praises and dislikes what he dislikes. This is the broad road to preferment!" This is amply corroborated in a scarce English poem of the period by a celebrated Welsh bard, as well as by many others to whom I have already referred.

"The Ancient British Church." By Archdeacon Pryce, M.A. Ed. 1878, p. vi

Archdeacon Pryce, writing in 1878, with special reference to this period and its evil consequences, says: "The ancient British Church is rightly regarded as bound up with the past history of the Welsh people, exhibiting both the virtues and defects of the national character. On the other hand, the Church in Wales at the present time, forced, by the policy of the Government, and its episcopal nominees during the Hanoverian period, into an attitude of apparent antagonism to all that was dear to my countrymen, has come in a great measure to be considered an *off-shoot of an Anglican Communion, and reflecting and attracting the religious feeling of only the upper and wealthier classes.*" This was the honest admission of a conscientious Churchman, who was greatly distressed at the prevailing impression, which our present bishops, with the utmost complacency accept: namely, that the Church in Wales is no church at all, but only "four dioceses of the province of

Canterbury," and—to use the words of the late Dean of Llandaff—that, "before the Welsh Church can be disestablished, the Welsh Church must be created," or, in the words of the former Bishop of St. David's, that "Wales is at present nothing more than a geographical expression." So much for the place which the Ancient Celtic Church of Wales has in the estimate of modern Welsh ecclesiasts, who, nevertheless, are great on St. David's Day, and "the dear old mother church," when it suits them. So much, too, for the patriotism that beats in the hearts of the modern Welsh bishops!

The evils of which we have spoken as coming down throughout the centuries, and prevailing more than ever in the Hanoverian period, did not stop there. From the eighteenth century they flowed with a turbid steady flow into the nineteenth. So much so, that in 1836 a Commission was appointed to consider the state of the Established Church in Wales. The disclosures were deplorable. For instance, the Third Report of the Commissioners shews a startling state of things. In Part I. we read: "In the whole country between Fishguard, on the north, and Precelly Mountain, on the south, there is no day school. The state of the Church exemplifies the neglect in which the population of these parishes is left. Churchwardens are never appointed. The churches at Llandilo and Maenclochog are in ruins (p. 306)." There is also a vivid picture of the kind of school that was held in that neighbourhood, illustrating the wonderful way in which we are assured the Church saw to the education of the young, when it was neglected by Nonconformists! The Commissioner, referring to the parish of Hasguard writes: "I found the master and four little children ensconced in the chancel, amidst a lumber of old tables, benches, and desks, round a three-legged grate full of burning sticks, with no sort of funnel, or chimney, for the smoke to escape. . . . There had been no churchwardens in the parish for ten years, nor, was it believed, for a much longer period" (p. 444).

Report of "Commission to consider the state of the Established Church in Wales," p. 306.

A report of the Commissioner's visit to Llanpumpsaint, the parish in which I was born thirteen years later, is specially interesting to me: "On the 17th November, I visited the above school, which *had only been established six weeks before my visit.* The school was held in the church, and the children dispensed through-

Ibid, p. 444.

Ibid, p. 270. out the pews. They behaved in a most disorderly manner" (p. 270). I personally well remember the traditions of my early childhood, how Church schools had suddenly sprung into existence throughout the country in time for this inquiry. The Commissioner evidently noticed this fact at Llanpumpsaint. Meanwhile, my father, who was a lad of fifteen at the time, had been in the school of an old Oxford undergraduate, who had been trained for the Church, but who had given it all up in disgust, and had devoted himself for many years to the instruction of the children of the neighbourhood. Now I have no hesitation in saying, that in penmanship and general elementary knowledge, including arithmetic, my father had been thoroughly drilled, and the name of "Fortune" (the schoolmaster's Christian name) was cherished by his pupils with a tenderness and admiration which have always been touching to me when I have heard my father and other veterans speak of him—my father, as late as two years ago, when he was 87 years age. The services of the Church in the education of the young in agricultural districts have been shamelessly exaggerated, as the Commissioners' Report throughout abundantly proves.

At Llanddulais, in Breconshire, the Report states: "The church is a small barn-like building, with large holes in the roof, evincing every symptom of neglect and discomfort. The day school is held in it. At the end opposite to the chancel, in an open space at the side of one of the pews in the aisle, we found a large peat fire piled up on the floor, without any sort of grate, and the smoke finding its way, after filling the church, out of the holes in the roof. . . . The master sat among them (the children) with his hat on, which he kept during the whole time I remained in the school." In Llanfihangel there was "no day nor Sunday school . . . and no service performed in the church during five out of six Sundays, for want of a congregation. In Cardiganshire, at Llanfair Tref Helygon: "The parish church was in ruins many years ago. The oldest inhabitant in the parish did not remember it standing. The living is held by the Rev. J. Hughes, of Llandyfriog. There is no day or Sunday school in this parish *connected with the Established Church*" (p. 163). The words I have
Ibid, p. 163. italicised are significant. Already Sunday schools of the Nonconformists were a mighty power throughout Wales. In them, moreover, such elementary education was given as to enable young

and old—for whole families attended—to read the Scriptures. This was all the education that thousands had.

In Radnorshire. The Report reads "At Llandegley the clergyman is forbidden to have his horses in the churchyard, but he puts in two calves. The school is held in the end of the church, into which the belfry opens. . . . Calves are still turned into the churchyard, and, I am told, still sleep in the belfry" (p. 84). Ibid, p. 84.

And so on, and on! The only use to which this and many other churches in Wales were put was, alas, for rearing calves! The whole thing would be exceedingly ludicrous, were it not, indeed, supremely sad.

The above extracts are only a few out of a host of instances in which religion was made a by-word by the clergy, who, in many cases, had fat livings. Indeed, apart from Nonconformity, seventy years ago, Wales would have been simply heathenish!

The "Revival" in the Church in Wales since 1850, according to the Bishop of St. Asaph and others.

But it is often said that there has been a revival during the last fifty years in the Church in Wales. The first thing I would state is that, whatever may be said of this revival, it has been contemporaneous with the demand of the Welsh nation for disestablishment. The Bishop of St. Asaph, and others, give 1850 as the date for the "revival" in the Established Church in Wales. Now, a renewal of life in any church is a gratifying fact to all. In so far as this has been the case in the Church in Wales, we rejoice, and will rejoice. But do the facts justify all the assertions that are made at Church Congresses, and at Church Defence meetings?

First, accepting the date given by the Bishop of St. Asaph, namely, 1850. Is it not a significant fact that at that time there was a mighty revulsion of national feeling at the scandals which still prevailed: that the Liberation Society had held meetings since 1845 in every centre throughout Wales, meetings which expressed in no uncertain fashion the indignation of the Welsh people at the anomaly which the Established Church in Wales presented? Will the Bishop deny that this was the first and foremost reason for the fluttering among the episcopal dove-cotes which then began, and which, by 1850, had really developed into an earnest desire on the part of some of those who were "wise to discern the signs of the times," to make the Church more worthy of its name and avoid

AMBASSADOR COLLEGE LIBRARY,
Bricket Wood,
St. Albans, Herts.

disaster? Will he also deny, that even then, and for many years after, those who were most urgent for effective reforms received no encouragement from the bishops and dignitaries? Were not those men boycotted, and even penalized, in the same way, though not to the same degree, as their predecessors were, who were driven to Nonconformity nearly two hundred years ago? Will he deny that, even within the present generation, it has been so? Can he for a moment, forget that his own brother, one of the ablest Churchmen of his day in Wales, was a striking instance of a born leader of men, with the eye of a seer, and with the spirit and courage of a reformer, who drew upon himself the frown of Church patrons and dignitaries, for his burning words of warning and admonition, which they could not tolerate, because they sounded like the terrors of judgment in their ears? Can he forget what short shrift that brother made of all the vain cries of "revival"? And can he have forgotten that never after was that prophet of the wilderness asked to write another paper on the same theme for Church Congresses?

Later on I reproduce the greater portion of that memorable address at Swansea, which rang, as, indeed, the Dean himself hinted, either the note of advance to the open, or of a dismal retreat into the valley of death, which was already immediately in their rear. But in the face of all the warning he gave, is it not a little nauseating, for those of us who know the facts, to hear the successors of those very drones, who never would stir at the urgent request of their would-be deliverers, now complacently boast before English audiences of the "revival" that is going on, and of the way in which "the bees are returning to the hive," in fulfilment of the historic wish of one who was driven from it! That there is a great improvement, no one will question, but we will see the length of its duration and its leading characteristics.

Until public opinion made the former state of things impossible, the scandals of preceding centuries both as to the appointment of bishops and clergy, unacquainted with the language of the people and out of sympathy with their national aspirations, sinecures, absentees, plurality of livings, and other disgraceful abuses of the offices and funds of the church abounded.

Judge Johnes "Causes of Dissent in Wales," pp. 117-134. Ed. 1870.

Judge Johnes (himself a Churchman), writing of the same period in his "Causes of Dissent in Wales," takes two counties as example

of what he affirmed prevailed throughout Wales, viz., Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire. As a matter of fact, they would be specially favourable to the Church, as they are among the most Anglican counties of Wales. He states :—

"Radnorshire contains 42 parishes, exclusive of chapels of ease. Of these 21 (one-half) are in the hands of non-residents, 16 of whom are absentees from the county.

"The incumbent of S. Harmon's, not very long since, received both that benefice, and Llanwrthwl, in Brecknockshire, in both of which the Welsh language prevails; in St. Harmon's it is more generally spoken than any parish in Radnorshire. Yet he is unacquainted with it.

"Montgomeryshire : One-half of the livings, above the annual value of £300 are appropriated as follows :—

Three absentees from the county.	Llanvaches, Newtown, and Llan St. Ffraid.
Two connections of the bishops of Wales, but resident on their benefices.	Kerry (Bishop £660, Vicar £330), Llan-llwch-haearn
Two to gentlemen connected with the Bishops of Wales, absentees from the county, and possessed of other benefices of equal value.	Castell Careinion (£600 per ann.*) and Berriew (£450 per ann.*).
Two to gentlemen ignorant of the Welsh language.	Llanrhaiadr (£450*) and Machynlleth (£400*).

"Newtown £400.—By a clergyman residing in Glo'stershire. A great part of the population . . . imperfectly acquainted with English. Officiating minister has for many years, uniformly, been a person ignorant of the Welsh language."

See pp. 117-134 for further details of abuses. Putting sinecure rectors out of the question, ten of the parishes in Montgomeryshire were held by absentees. Mr. Johnes adds to the details the general remark : "Great as are the abuses, they are, after all, a mere index to the general spirit in which the patronage of the whole Church is administered."

* These figures are given in fuller detail by Judge Johnes.—D.D.

Having given a few glimpses into the state of things in the first half of the nineteenth century, I now proceed to give illustrations of the condition of the Church in Wales in 1850, the year of the supposed "revival," and subsequently. In 1852 the Association of Welsh Clergy in the West Riding of Yorkshire, published a report of their proceedings for that year, which was the thirty-first of their existence. This, and the reports of the four succeeding years, are now before me. These Welshmen had become desperate in view of the Anglicising and spoliating conduct of Church bishops and patrons in Wales, and had formed a committee of investigation, which did its work with drastic thoroughness by visiting sacred edifices in ruins, the sites where churches had entirely disappeared, and by inquiring into the condition and misuse of endowments, which, as we shall see, revealed a shocking condition of things.

The great services which had already been rendered by Sir Benjamin Hall, Bart.—afterwards Lord Llanover—evidently supplied them with important material. Sir Benjamin had written an enlightening letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on statements which had, about five years before, been published by the Rev. Jermyn Pratt in a pamphlet, and confirmed them in detail in the description of the delapidated and ruinous condition of the Collegiate Church of Brecon.

In the first place, Sir Benjamin shewed that although a Bill, by which the Deanery of Brecon was suppressed, became law on August 8, 1840, and Bishop Thirlwall was not consecrated till the 9th, he was "appointed to the suppressed offices of dean and treasurer of the Collegiate Church of Brecon, the lucrative emoluments of which he had ever since enjoyed,* and the duties of which he had never performed ! ! !"

Now, Mr. Pratt, writing in December, 1846, after a visit to Brecon, had stated : All that now exists of this collegiate fabric is the chancel. . . . Nothing can exceed the filthy state of this sacred edifice. The roof, even now, scarcely resists the rain, although subscriptions have, within the last three years, been raised by private individuals to repair it. . . . The dean and prebendaries were, at the time of raising the subscription, all appealed to; but almost all refused to lend their aid. . . . The

"Record of Christ College, Brecon." By Rev. Jermyn Pratt. pp. 23, 24.

* I find that this amounted to £4,000 per annum.—D.D.

ceiling of the building is daily falling, and is allowed to remain as it falls, upon the pavement below—no one being employed to clear the dust and mortar away. It appears that the prayers were read and a sermon preached till about the year 1839; and the cause of the suspension of Divine Service was, that the roof was considered too insecure. . . . The school, however, was kept up till 1845; but from the inefficiency of the schoolmaster (who nominally held the office of lecturer as well), it dwindled away to a very few boys, and now there is none at all—neither school, service, nor lecture. The entrance to this collegiate church is by a miserable, rickety pair of old doors. They are merely fastened by a chain and padlock, which the person who has charge of the ruins, and who still retains his nominal office of clerk, or sexton, is obliged to find at his *own cost*. He has received no salary since September, 1834. The piece of ground, containing about 2½ to 3 acres, which, from its position, was evidently the cemetery of the college, and . . . has always been considered as such by the inhabitants of Brecon . . . is now let by the Bishop of St. David's for £16 per annum; and, moreover, a circus for horsemanship, almost every year, is allowed to be erected in the centre of this hallowed spot."

This was not disputed till the matter was referred to by Sir Benjamin Hall, when the Bishop of St. David's denied its accuracy, "But, unfortunately for the Bishop," as Sir Benjamin states, "in 1847, Mr. Jesse, holding a responsible position under the Crown, visited the spot in the summer, and the following winter published the following remarks: "There is one place at Brecon. . . . It is the old Cathedral, now fast mouldering away, neglected, forsaken, and almost unknown. Who can see it without feelings of the deepest regret? No solemn anthem now ascends to Heaven, no choral praise is heard. The insidious ivy creeps through the roof, the floor is damp, and the oak stalls with their curiously carved misereres are fast falling to decay. . . The Bishop of St. David's is the Dean, and there are no less than 15 prebendaries (the Bishop included) deriving considerable incomes from this neglected place.

Sir Benjamin Hall's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, p. 15.

"It might have been thought that the monument of Dr. George Bull . . . would have called forth some compunction, some regret, when the auditor paid the half-yearly incomes of these sinecurist Churchmen, for the church they never visited or

upheld; and then the noble monument, one of the finest in the country, of the Lucy family, and many others of great interest and antiquity, all are neglected, and subject to spoliation, for there was no one present to protect them, when I entered the venerable sanctuary—even the sexton, with his paltry £5 a year, has not received one farthing of it for many years.

"Yet the estates flourish, the rents are paid, and the dean and the prebendaries pocket the money. The livings which pious men left to this church are still held by them, and yet it is all decay, ruin and desolation."

Ibid, p. 16. "But this is not all," caustically writes Sir Benjamin, having quoted the above, "for as if some fatality had determined that the long cherished abuses of Christ's College should *at last* become fully known to the whole United Kingdom, a regiment was quartered at Brecon, the commanding officer of which, delighting in antiquities, exercised his pen and his pencil in describing and pourtraying the dilapidated and desecrated interior of the collegiate church, and it is a curious fact that at the very time he was in the sacred edifice, a drover demanded admittance for his flock of sheep, as if the church was their accustomed fold; and this officer saw the dung of those animals in the stalls, where bishops and prebendaries used to sit, but from the possession of which they now only derive income. Major Davies (vide Archæological Journal of the Early and Middle Ages, March 1850) says: 'The state of the chapel is most deplorable.'" Then follows an account of the drover who demanded admittance for his sheep at the west entrance!

On July 23, 1850, a distinguished sculptor, a native of Brecon, wrote a pressing and pathetic letter, urging immediate attention, "to keep up what remains of the building lest that . . . ultimately, do duty as warehouses or barns."

"Wales." By Sir Thos. Phillips. p. 205. Sir Thomas Phillips, in his Book on "Wales" (1850) refers to this college at Brecon as "combining almost every abuse which can exist in the appropriation and management of ecclesiastical property."

To Sir Benjamin Hall's letter to the Archbishop was appended a report by an agent appointed to survey the building, and with great minuteness more than substantiated all that had been said.

The Welsh clergy of the West Riding also confirm all that

has just been stated, and supply in their Report a description by an eye-witness: "There you see 24 stalls, with seats, and sides and canopies . . . a marble monument to Bishop Bull, and a marble bust and monument to Bishop Lucy, and other dignitaries. And a most splendid statue in a standing posture as large as life. . . But, alas! above you see a dozen large patches of the ceiling, where the rains of heaven have been permitted to drop on the heads of these relics of the illustrious dead: the windows were all shattered, and some quite open, and without glass or panes of any kind to protect the interior and its valuable relics from decay. The person who showed me the church said that divine service is performed there only once a year. I recollected that there is no less than £7,000* a year of endowment belonging to this beautiful and still most interesting, though neglected edifice."

In the face of all this the angry denial of Dr. Connop Thirlwall was exceedingly sad. And where were the Ecclesiastical Commissioners—among whom were all the bishops—all the time! The policy, like that which has prevailed throughout the centuries, was to lie low, and, when challenged, to repudiate facts.

The story of the origin of this foundation and of its chequered career is interesting, though discreditable to many concerned. Previous to this foundation there existed in Brecknock "a house of Priory of Dominicans, and a monastery dedicated to St. Nicholas, and there had also existed at Abergwili, where the Palace of the Bishop of St. David's was erected nearly three centuries later, a collegiate foundation established by Charter in 1283, by Thomas Beck, Lord Treasurer of England, and Bishop of St. David's. Upon the dissolution of the monasteries this Priory and lands were received by Henry VIII., and he in the 33rd year of his reign, in a Charter, granted to William, Bishop of St. David's, and his successors, for ever, the Priory and all lands and possessions, and also the College of Abergwili, with full licence and authority to transfer the ministers of the College at Abergwili to Christ's College Brecon, Brecon being considered more suitable, because he deemed the inhabitants to be less barbarous than those of Abergwili!

*The exact amount officially given was £7,213 10s. 0d. per annum, although there is good reason for believing that it actually amounted in all to £8,000.—D.D.

From a letter in the Cottonian Library, the ground of its removal is "that the Prelate and dignitaries of the Church might improve the King's liege subjects in this neighbourhood." In view of the subsequent history of that foundation it would seem as if the preservation of this letter was a cruel irony of fate. At the Reformation, however, the college was transferred from Abergwili to Brecon by the license of King Henry VIII., "who granted," as Sir Thomas Phillips tells us, "the Priory and possessions of the Friars-preachers at Brecon as the foundation of Christ's College in that place." The present chapel is a portion of the ancient monastery, but the other buildings were erected subsequent to the Royal Charter by which Henry founded, and in his unique fashion liberally endowed, the college. The Rev. J. Pratt reminds us that "the dean and prebendaries of this ill-fated foundation seem to have shown an early disposition to frustrate the good intentions of the Royal benefactor, for we find that in 1614 (11th of James I.) a most severe reprimand was given them by George, the then Archbishop of Canterbury.". The Royal intention was to establish a great Grammar School for his Welsh subjects; but in accordance with the practically universal ancient and time-honoured custom, which even yet is far from defunct, the endowments got into the hands of the ecclesiastics, so that not a penny could be spared for the upkeep of the buildings, or even the payment of £5 per annum to the poor sexton. The bishop and his 15 prebendaries sucked the £7,213 10s. 0d. a year as dry as a sponge.

At length, however, a few Welshmen, and especially a few Breconshire men, who were most familiar with the facts, and were deeply stirred by the scandal, agitated for inquiry and reform, and made a continuance of this crying abuse impossible. The agitation resulted in "The Christ College of Brecknockshire Act of 1853," repeating the Charter of King Henry VIII. A new governing body was formed in 1855. Under that scheme the Ecclesiastical Commissioners secured the bulk of the princely income of this educational endowment, and left the governors with £2,000 a year.

Under the scheme of 1855 the Borough of Brecon had three members on the governing body (the Mayor for the time being and two elected by the Council)—a recognition that Brecknock had a vested interest in the institution. In 1861 a master's house and new school buildings began—a stone being laid by Bishop Thirl-

wall. The cost of the buildings was £10,000. In 1804 the Collegiate Church Chancel was restored at a cost of £1,500. But how much of this total amount of £11,500 was met out of the monies left, if any, from the misappropriations of past years, or was contributed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in lieu of the annual income of more than £5,000, which had been transferred to them, I have not been able to ascertain. It is at least probable that the bulk was obtained by public subscription. Thus, however, ended the scandal which had been winked at for weary decades, but which an enlightened and quickened public conscience would no longer tolerate.

Dealing with the more general question of the condition of the Church in Wales in 1852, the Report of the Welsh Clergy of the West Riding of Yorkshire states:—"Some of the members of your Committee have both witnessed and deplored the delapidated state of the churches in the diocese of St. David's. They have seen churches entirely deserted by the parishioners, some of them without doors, converted into lodging places for sheep and cattle, and others without roofs, admitting the rains of heaven freely into the interior: the books, communion plate, and surplices having disappeared, and nowhere to be found, the performance of divine service therein having ceased for many years. Yea, in some of the localities the churches themselves have entirely disappeared, leaving only the name to mark their site. Some of your Committee have seen this, and are ready to furnish any anxious inquirer with the names of such churches." Report of Welsh Clergy of West Riding, 1852, p. 12

Referring further to the more general misappropriation of funds, the Report, in speaking of the evasion and violation of a law passed in 1838 against the appointment of clergymen to vacant benefices in Wales without previous competent knowledge of the language of the parishioners, proceeds: "The present Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1847, appointed his brother-in-law, an Englishman, to the valuable living of Gresford, containing one entire township, in which Welsh, and Welsh alone, is the language of the inhabitants. . . . The late Vicar of Gresford, Dean Horsley, an Englishman, son of Dr. Horsley, Bishop of St. Asaph, held the living, £700 per annum, for forty-five years, in the course of which he left its care to a curate, to whom, for nearly thirty years, he paid a very inadequate stipend. The dean resided in Edinburgh,

and distinguished himself by holding through a long life, in addition to Gresford, the lucrative Rectory of Castell Careinion, commuted at £638, and Llanfairtalhaiarn Prebend, said to be worth £350. He was also one of the canons of St. Asaph. This gentleman was entirely unacquainted with the Welsh language, and seldom visited his preferments. Castell Careinion he never visited except to read himself in; and when he did so, he borrowed, it is stated, on his journey through Welshpool, one thousand pounds on the living." (p. 7.)

Sir Benjamin Hall's speech in the House of Commons in 1851, was printed before this report was issued, and appended to the speech was a schedule containing the abstract of a Return of "Scandalous Clerical Sinecures," and revealing disgraceful misappropriation of emoluments in almost all the dioceses of England and Wales. Wales occupies a prominent position in so far as three of the dioceses are concerned. The fourth, St. David's, as usual, was slow to supply particulars, and had sent no return. This drew forth the remark that the Registrar, together with those of the three other Sees who did not court the light, was "liable to be summoned to the Bar of the House for contempt."

The Welsh clergy of the West Riding refer in their Report for 1854, in the following words to one glaring misappropriation connected with Llandaff, also mentioned in the Schedule: "The Prebend of Langwm, value £84 4s. 6d., has been held since 1813 by the Rev. Richard Watson (son of Bishop Watson), an Englishman, who was also appointed to the Registrarship of the diocese when he was *five years old*, and he has now held it for 60 years, and has received from it altogether upwards of £40,000. The Bishop also got him appointed when he was *eight years of age* to the Registrarship of the Diocese of London, which he has now held for 57 years, and from which he has received upwards of £27,720."

It will be seen that this shocking state of things existed in the fifties, and in this particular instance the son of a former Welsh bishop, at the age of eight, was, through unscrupulous defiance of all principles of integrity, and even decency, on the part of the Bishop of London as well as the fond Bishop father, made the recipient of over £1,200 a year. One wonders how the young "hopeful" spent it all. And yet successors of those bishops well within 60 years of the existence of this scandal, which had

covered another 60 years, hold up their hands now in pious horror at the thought of Disestablishment and Disendowment, crying "Spoliation" and "Plunder"! The total amount up to date when the above was written, and when the recipient still lived, was £68,000, for positively doing nothing. This takes no account of the prebend of Langwm, from which he had received to date an additional £3,453. I have no record when that worthy died—if he is dead yet, for there is a great deal of truth, as well as force, in what Mrs. Poyser said: "It seems as if them as aren't wanted here are th' only folks as aren't wanted i' th' other world"!

It should also be remembered that this man was the son of that Bishop Watson of Llandaff (1782-1816) who, as Dean Howell said at the Church Congress at Manchester, "was regarded in the early part of the 19th century as the model bishop of his time"! This, indeed, speaks but little for the other bishops, for he, retiring soul, only visited the diocese a few times during his long episcopate, and lived as a great farmer and forester in distant Westmoreland, whither the poor clergy of Wales had to go whenever they had occasion to consult their bishop. This was the gentleman who received "the tithes of two churches in Shropshire, two in Leicestershire, two in his own diocese, and three in Huntingdonshire—in all of which he had resident curates—of five more as appropriations to the Bishopric, and of two more in the Isle of Ely as appropriations to his Archdeaconry of Ely." This was in addition, of course, to the modest sum he received from his bishopric, and quite apart from the £700 per annum which he obtained for his son of five, and the £500 per annum to the same son at the age of eight, for the Registrarships of the Dioceses of Llandaff and London, to which I have just referred, and of which, presumably the fond father had a share during his son's tender years. Yet this was the man who grumbled endlessly at the neglect of King and Archbishop in omitting to give him a fatter bishopric!

Church Congress, Manchester Oct. 1888

'Llandaff," by Rev. E.J. Newell, p. 211, Ed. 1902

The appointment by the Bishop of St. Asaph of his own son at the age of 20, at £200 a year, to the Registrarship of his See: who, in 1851, was flourishing, having received up to date—for he, too, true to his kind was long-lived—£8,600 gratis, while supplying a striking instance of parental partiality, pales into insignificance before the £71,400 which Bishop Watson of Llandaff had secured for his son at the cost of two dioceses, as an outward visible sign of

the inward spiritual grace of a fatherly fondness, abnormally developed toward a worthless offspring !

But lest it should be for a moment supposed that this Galilæan was a sinner "above all the Galilæans," in other words, that Bishop Watson was a greater sinner than some of his English brethren, I will give a few extracts from the " Return of Scandalous Clerical Sinecures," obtained by Sir Benjamin Hall, in relation to the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Return itself was delayed as long as possible. Concerning it, Sir Benjamin writes : " The Return was ordered in August, 1851, and was not presented till June, 1852, and not circulated till November 12, 1852. It is even now in a most imperfect state, and very great reluctance has been shewn by the officers of the Courts to make it. From some Courts there is no return at all; and in many instances, when it has been deemed convenient not to give the ages at which persons were appointed to these lucrative offices, ' age not known,' are inserted. It will, however, be seen that infants of three years of age have been appointed; and although the age of the female registrar is put down as ' not known,' it will be found by the evidence of her deputy, before a Committee of the House of Commons, that she was five years of age when her father, the Dean of Wells, nominated her as Registrar of the Diaconal Court."

It is this Schedule that shews the appointment by Bishop Cleaver, of St. Asaph, of his son at a salary of £200, who, up to date, had received £8,600. In the Diocese of Bath and Wells there are four sinecure appointments, to two at the age of five, one being the daughter of the Dean, who had received £772 10s., and another, a certain grandson named Beadon, who had received to date £14,400.

In the diocese of Oxford there are three sons of the Bishop in the receipt of a modest sum of £100 each.

In the diocese of Exeter, among other sinecurists was the Bishop of St. Asaph, who had received £350 per annum for 31 years, and thus had totalled to date £10,850.

In the Norwich Diocese we find a son appointed registrar at the age of ten, jointly with another, who was evidently his deputy, and had received £1,427 8s. 9d. a year for 27 years, amounting in all to £38,540. Another son was appointed at the age of six as regis-

trar, and had received £1,360; and another son appointed registrar, at the age of three, and had received £1,680.

In York we have two sons of the Archbishop appointed to lucrative posts—one was appointed by his father at twenty-two to be principal registrar of one Court in 1825, and when twenty-six registrar to another, in 1829. He is represented as having received from the former for 27 years, to date, £11,277 16s., and from the latter, for 23 years, to date, £53,820. Another son of the Archbishop, who is not included in the list as a sinecurist, was appointed chancellor, and consequently judge of the Courts of York, and had an uncommonly easy post. He was appointed in 1818, when twenty-six years of age. His average income as given in the evidence was £1,404 a year for five sittings, consisting of half a day each. He had, therefore, received for thirty-four years—representing in all 85 days' work of a few hours each—£47,736. The two brothers had totalled up to date, £112,833 16s. 0d. !

The Archbishops evidently excelled in this direction, for although, as will have been seen, York had done uncommonly well for the two sons of the Archbishop, Canterbury asserted its priority in a decisive manner, for we find the son of the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed as registrar at the age of twenty-two, at £10,894 6s. 6d. a year. He had received this for fifty-three years, and thus up to date had *netted* £577,399 4s. 6d.; while a grandson (probably the son of the latter) had been appointed to a position, and at an age which is *not* specified, at a salary of £2,040 5s. 0d. He had at the time of the Return enjoyed this for twenty-four years, and had received, therefore, in all, £48,966.

Thus, up to the date of the Return, the son and grandson of the Archbishop had received in all £626,365 4s. 6d. for doing nothing.

Under "Canterbury" there is another gentleman named Abbot, who was evidently fortunate, even if not a favourite. The nature of the appointment is not specified in the schedule. This worthy has received £3,251 2s. 5d. a year ever since he was forty, and had continued to receive it until now, when he was eighty-two years old, totalling £136,547 1s. 6d. for doing nothing.

Then there was another grandson of the patron, named the Hon. J. H. T. M. Sutton, who was appointed as registrar at £700 at the early age of fifteen. He had enjoyed this for twenty-four years and netted £16,800.

Everything points to Abbot also being well "in touch" with, if not related to, the Archbishop.

Thus, ignoring four other sinecures, we find that in the Diocese of Canterbury the Archbishop's son, grandson, Abbot, and another grandson, had totalled at the time the Return was published £779,712 6s.—the first *three* absorbing £762,912 6s.—for doing nothing.

The total received by the sinecurists scheduled was £1,146,128 14s. 9¾d., and yet the Church is poor!

The Registrar of St. David's in common with those of Rochester, Peterborough, and Winchester, did not make any return for the above. Poor St. David's! Its registrar evidently remembered the old adage, "the least said the soonest mended!"

The appointment of sons by bishops to specially lucrative posts, to wit, good registrarships, has been known in Wales within the last fifteen years.

We find that in 1852 the sinecure rectories, with one exception, amounting to the yearly value of of about £4,000, had been held by Englishmen for 100 years. On an average most of the sinecurists, like the prebendaries, never visited the diocese except to take possession.

Returning to Llandaff, we find that the Dean, in 1854, in the possession of the Deanery, value £770, could neither write nor read a Welsh sermon. The Chancellorship of the Cathedral Church, in the gift of the bishop, was held by a clergyman, who was the rector of a Welsh parish, but who was not qualified to do duty in the Welsh language. In this parish there were then four Nonconformist chapels, having congregations averaging above 300 persons; but there was no Welsh service held in the Church. The bishop, moreover, was patron of the Precentorship of the Cathedral, to which the rector of Gelligaer, with the Chapelry of Brithdir, value £670, was presented in 1845. This rector was non-resident, lived in Cardiff, and served the *English* curacy of St. John's. The two Archdeaconries, to which I refer elsewhere value £200 a year, were in the patronage of the diocesan, and were held by two Englishmen. The bishop was also the patron of the Treasurership of the Cathedral, to which his lordship had appointed himself! Of the prebends, in the bishop's gift, several were held

by strangers: the Prebend of Fairwater had been held since 1823 by an Englishman; the Prebend of St. Cross had been since 1827 in the possession of a clergyman who had been presented by the Dean and Chapter of Winchester to a benefice in Hampshire, value above £700 per annum. The Prebend of Fairwell was held by an English-speaking clergyman, the then Rector of Merthyr. At the same time the vicarages of Llanblethian, Penmarc, and Llantwit Major were in the possession of Englishmen; while there were in these parishes nine Nonconformist chapels. Meanwhile the Registrarship of the Cathedral continued to be in the hands of a son of a former bishop (Richard Watson), who was appointed to it by his father at the age of five, and of which I have just given full details.

"The case of the Church in Wales," by Rev. W. L. Bevan, M.A. Ed. 1886.

With regard to Bangor, even Archdeacon Bevan says: "In Bangor Diocese the relations of bishops were not unknown. The names of Dean Warren, Dean Cotton, and Mr. Majendie have already been mentioned, and to these we may add the names of Henry Warren (1797), Henry Egerton (1758), and Egerton Leigh (1759), the two latter of which suggest connections with Bishop Egerton (1756-1769)."

Report, pp. 18, 19.

Sir Thomas Phillips, in his well-known book, "Wales," gives two other very glaring cases connected with Llandaff: "Dr. Casbard was for 40 years rector of Penmarc, near Cowbridge, £224; 20 years vicar of Llanover, with Trevethin and Mamhilod, £591. These three parishes he was never known to have visited above twice after his induction. The name of the vicar was not even known to some of the churchwardens of these parishes. During many years of his incumbency two curates in the parish of Trevethin were paid in part by the Church Pastoral Aid Society. Besides this he was made Prebendary of Llandaff and Wells, by the respective bishops of those Sees, the annual value of which is said to have been £940 (Llandaff £40, Wells £900). Dr. Casbard, who was an Englishman, derived from his several pieces of preferment an income of £1,775 per annum."

"Again, the Rev. Dr. Lisle is rector of St. Fagan, with the Chapelry of Llanilterne, value £417, where a curate is only paid £40 a year for doing the duty. This benefice he has enjoyed for 62 years. He has also been for nearly 55 years vicar of Llantilio

Partholey, value £264, to which he was appointed by the Chapter of Llandaff . . . £40 per annum. Dr. Lisle is said to be totally ignorant of Welsh."

The rectories of St. Athan and Porthceri, too, are mentioned as being held by Englishmen, although they were Welsh-speaking districts. And so the disreputable tale goes on *ad nauseam* !

It will be seen from all this that the favouritism in appointing bishops, who neither understood the people nor their language, merely to serve political ends, have led for centuries, and well within the memory of man, to endless abuses in the appropriation of funds, and to inferiority, inefficiency, and general unfitness of the clergy, especially with regard to those appointed for Welsh speaking congregations !

CHAPTER V.

The English Church in Wales from 1850 until now.

IN 1855, that is five years after the date of the "revival" in the Welsh Church, according to the Bishop of St. Asaph and others, and ten years after the Liberation Society had begun its operations in Wales, the Rev. R. W. Morgan, a Church clergyman at Trecynon, Mont., published a pamphlet entitled "Scheme for the Reconstruction of the Church Episcopate and its Patronage in Wales," a scheme which, if it had been adopted, would certainly have done much to check the abuses and increase the efficiency of the Established Church in Wales. This, like every suggestion from within was frowned at, repudiated, and ultimately ignored.

In that pamphlet he gives a digest of another which he had already published on "The Episcopal Corruptions of Wales," from which I will reproduce the salient points. In speaking of the preceding 140 years, when not a single Welshman was appointed to a Welsh See, he says:—

"1. For 140 years the British Church in the Principality has been ruled on a principle of dishonesty. . . .

"2. The bishops and their families, or friends, have in North Wales alone during this period appropriated to themselves £2,400,000 of the public money of the Church and people of Wales.

"3. Not one of these bishops could discharge the functions of the office for which he received these public monies. . . .

"4. The Church in Wales . . . had dwindled down to 15,000 communicants, and 100,000 hearers . . . out of the present 1,162,407 souls.

"5. The whole ecclesiastical property and funds of the Church intended and bestowed by our forefathers on the whole

Cymric population of the Principality for the purpose of Christian instruction and edification, are thus at this moment confined to a minority representing only one-tenth part of the population : the Church, be it carefully borne in mind, being reduced to this fraction by the improbity and depravation of its own rulers : not by any force, fraud, violence, or interference from without. The people have not touched a stone of the Church, a penny of the tithes, or the hair of a head of its clergy : it has withered up and decayed from a cause within itself—the stamp and character of its bishops. Possessed of all the ecclesiastical property and parishes of the Kymry, it has entirely lost its hold on the Kymry themselves; and it is of all Kymry—not of a tenth part of them, and that tenth part presided over by illegal bishops—that this property with its livings and tithes, is the spiritual patrimony and inheritance."

He adds : "One of the last appointments made by Dr. T. Short (of St. Asaph) . . is that of his brother-in-law, Rev. R. Wickham, to the Archdeaconry of St. Asaph. The principal functions of this Archdeacon are first to visit Welsh parishes, and charge Welsh churchwardens, and secondly to examine the candidates for Holy Orders in the Welsh Church, whether they are "apt and meet" to exercise the ministry of the Gospel. He has to present them at the altar to the bishop. . . . The bishop, the brother-in-law who has appointed him, then warns him thus : 'Take heed that the persons whom ye present unto us, be apt and meet for their *learning* and godly conversation, to exercise their ministry duly, to the honour of God and the edifying of the Church.' The archdeacon answers : 'I have inquired of them, and also *examined them*, and think them so to be' (*Ordering of Priests*). Archdeacon Wickham knows not a Word of Welsh!"

At the same time the Archdeaconries of Monmouth and Llandaff, which were in the patronage of the diocesan, were held by Englishmen; and until 1895 (or so) the Archdeacon of Cardigan, in the Diocese of St. David's was an Englishman, a fine classic scholar, highly culture and refined, and of a most genial disposition, but a vandal at Welsh. I refer to Archdeacon North. I knew him well, and esteemed him highly; but as an archdeacon he was utterly unfit to examine Welshmen for Holy Orders. He was at Llangoedmore, near Cardigan, for over 40 years, but made slow

progress with Welsh. It is of him that the story was freely told, how, when at the close of 40 years, in reviewing his ministry, and mourning over its fruitlessness, he pathetically exclaimed in broken Welsh, which imparted a strange quaintness to the remark: "Pedr dydd Pentecost pregethu un pregeth, tri mil wedi converto; fi pregethu tri mil pregeth, dim un wedi converto!" ("Peter on the day of Pentecost preached one sermon, and three thousand were converted: I have preached three thousand sermons and not one is converted.") How could it well be otherwise under such conditions? One always felt that Archdeacon North would have adorned an English deanery, but he was utterly out of place in a Welsh archdeaconry. In these instances, and those of a later date, the 24th Article, and the Act of 1838, were alike rendered null and void. Thus by having Englishmen as Archdeacons, who know no Welsh, or what is practically synonymous with that, a whole generation of clergymen obtain certificate of fitness in contravention of all law, congruity, and integrity.

All this, be it observed, is well within the time that we are assured by the successor of Dr. Short, a mighty "revival" has taken place in the Church. Moreover, we shall have occasion to shew how the present Bishop of St. Asaph himself, only ten years ago, was appealed to by his clergy to discontinue the systematic appointment of Englishmen to Welsh livings, who were unable to minister in the "language understanded of the people," and by which not only is the 24th Article contravened, and also the law passed in 1838 is clearly violated, but the efficiency of the Church's ministry irreparably impaired.

Dean (then Canon) Howell, in speaking at the Manchester Church Congress on October 1, 1888, and comparing Welsh Nonconformist preachers with those who were in the Established Church in Wales, said: "Wales is a land of preaching. . . . The best and ablest men of the nation . . . are found among the preachers of Wales. The three greatest preachers of the first half of the present century were Christmas Evans, John Elias, and Williams of Wern. . . . Of late years the Church in Wales has produced few, if any, truly great Welsh preachers—hardly a single man of intense force and commanding power over the

people. . . . How can we account for this great dearth of great preachers in the Welsh Church? It is partly because Welsh preaching in its higher and grander forms has not been encouraged in the Church. . . . Too often have men been honoured, caressed, and promoted in proportion as they were aliens in language, sympathy and heart from the Welsh people; while on the other hand, the very qualities which are most attractive to the people seemed to be the very reason why their possessors found no favour in the eyes of the rulers of the Church. That this has notoriously been the case in many instances during the first seventy years of this century is well known throughout Wales. To be eminent as a Welsh preacher or writer was almost a sure and certain reason for being ignored by the heads of the Church. . . . Only some twenty years ago, think of a Welsh bishop, after administering the rite of confirmation in English in an almost exclusively Welsh parish, publicly thanking God at the luncheon that followed that he did not understand the Welsh language. . . . Never, at least during the last 180 years, has the Welsh language been so great a power in Wales, or had so great an influence over the Welsh people, as at the present day. . . . I have no deeper conviction than that the infatuated efforts of the last 180 years to Anglicise the clergy and people of Wales, ignoring the national temperament, and the national sympathy of the Welsh people, has more than anything else alienated a large portion of my fellow-countrymen from the Mother Church of the land. If the Church in Wales is to be saved, it must be saved from within. . . Nothing from without can ever of itself save any church."

This was the testimony of one of those who suffered much for his love for his nation and his native language, and none dared to call into question the truth of those scathing utterances. Yet we are told that the Church of which this has been true, with the exception of one or two brief intervals, for seven hundred years, is not an alien Church!

The late Dean Edwards at the Swansea Church Congress, 1879, pp. 356-358.

The late Dean Edwards, at the Church Congress at Swansea, in 1879, speaking of the 150 years from 1700 to 1850, and having referred to the systematic and persistent way in which the chief preferments of the Church had been reserved for Englishmen, who were alike ignorant of the language of the nation, and indifferent

to its needs, and whose ministry was altogether reactionary in its tendencies, proceeded to speak of the natural consequences among the inferior clergy: "The tale of the Church's ruin in Wales is simple. Where did the malady begin? 'As in human bodies,' Pliny wrote, 'So in States, the worst disease is that which is diffused from the head' (Epis lib. iv. 22). . . . In Wales, as in India, natives were enlisted to fill the humbler posts. Who were they? The favourites were feeble, pliant, unpatriotic men, who cringed to climb, who told their patron, not what was true, but what he wished to hear, viz., that all things Welsh were dying. Aping their masters, they affected contempt for the popular language. Ceasing to be Welsh, failing to be English, they became—nobodies. Of Welsh enthusiasm, oratory, literature, patriotism, they were innocent. Obsequious to the squires, arrogant to the people, they had no influence. They had no Welsh culture, and very little English, for, like North American Indians, they learnt the vices, sooner than the virtues, of their conquerors.

"Instinctively strong Welshmen, of eloquence, intellect, and influence shunned the Church. Dissent was more attractive to them, because the chapels contained their countrymen, and the Church had lost them. They preferred flocks without tithes, to tithes without flocks.

Dean Edwards at the Church Congress at Swansea, 1879.

"The clergy, imported as apostles of English, retarded the progress of the English language by associating it with ecclesiastical abuses, by throwing the people under the exclusive influence of monoglot Welsh teachers, by neglecting to promote higher education. During 150 years these dignitaries—one of whom bestowed on his family more than half of the revenues of a diocese—never endowed a single grammar school, and left Wales with barely a third of the school endowments existing in the average English districts of equal population. Chief pastors, devoid of Welsh sympathies, and illiterate in the Welsh tongue, produced a clergy in their own image. Hence, for 150 years every teacher, whose name lives in the hearts of the Welsh people, has been, almost without an exception, a Nonconformist. While the bishops were laying hands upon unfit men, the natural heaven-born teachers of Wales were influencing thousands in the chapel and *gymanfa*.

Of the clergy, those who were educated knew no Welsh, and those who knew Welsh were not educated. Those who had something to say could not say it to the people, and those who could say it had nothing to say.

"The Bishop, good easy man, went around to confirm. Each pastor of empty pews filled his church for the day. How? Sight-seeing Nonconformists came to the durbar of the great English official, and many knelt before him. Too often, the candidates had received no instruction. Sometimes, they were hired for the day, to make a show before the bishop. They heard what was, to them, but a magical incantation, and gazed at a pompous mechanical rite, without religious meaning to their minds. But the good bishop, an overseer without insight, saw the crowd, and went away delighted. No one told him that, if he had gone there on the following Sunday, he would have found the church empty and the newly-confirmed all in chapel. These confirmations —themes of endless Welsh ridicule—confirmed the bishop in happy ignorance of his diocese, and confirmed earnest Dissenters in their dissent.

"The Church has made material progress of late. Churches, parsonages, schools have been built, and on the cathedrals, after great efforts over many years, half as much money has been spent as is raised by Welsh Methodism in one year! But how many of the churches are empty? Five-sixths of the Welsh-speaking million are outside the Church. That is the present position."

We can see how thoroughly Dean Howell agreed with Dean Edwards as to the failure of the Church in Wales to touch the nation if we read the sermon he preached at St. Margaret's, Westminster, January 26th, 1890. He said: "It was sheer folly to hide from themselves the truth that the most vigorous life of the Welsh people no longer welled forth from the heart of the Welsh Church. . . . Thus, out of 1,006,100 souls who speak Welsh, 800,000 are attached, more or less, closely to the 3,000 chapels. Statistical apologists will hint that these Nonconformists only exist on paper. Paper adherents do not give money. The Welsh Nonconformists gave more than £300,000 a year. . . Twelve weekly journals, 18 magazines, and a large number of books are published in Welsh. Of this literature five-sixths are produced by

Nonconformists for Nonconformists. . . . In 1715 the Church was confronted by 35 Nonconformist Chapels, in 1879 by more than 3,000. Then the Welsh literature came almost entirely from the clergy; now it comes almost exclusively from Nonconformists."

But Dean Edwards, in his Swansea speech, went a step further. Proceeding, he exclaimed: "Well," he continued, "how can it be altered? The Church must be treated as the Church of the Welsh people, and not as the Church of the English-speaking minority. . . . But I shall be told by some worthy clergyman . . . who is blind to most Welsh facts, but has an eye to Welsh preferments, who tells his bishop that all the Welsh in his parish are dead, because they are all gone to chapel, 'Is not the Welsh language to die out?' My answer is, 'It may die; but you'll die ages before it.' You can't justify your present position by saying that you are waiting for the shoes of a dead language. You may serve the Church in Wales if you live till 2079 A.D. To-day you are a pastor for posterity, a light fitted to shine only in the Church of the future. . . .

Dean Edwards' appeal for reformation

"In every diocese £2,000 a year would be better spent in training devout, gifted Welshmen for the ministry, than in building churches doomed to be kept empty by ordained illiterates, and mouthers of marvellous Welsh. . . . Take away, if you will, the privileges of the Church, take away, if you must, her endowments, but give her back a living ministry that can win the heart of the Welsh people. That warm religious heart of Wales—chilled out of the Church—has built 3,000 humble shrines, and gives £300,000 a year for God. Let the Church have a native ministry that can regain the Welsh heart, and she will be strong and rich, and when another congress is held in Swansea by our children, at the end of 30 years, some of us may then be living to hear them calling her, not the Church in Wales, but the Church of Wales, strong in the love of the Welsh people; when their 'nobles shall be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them.'"

Those, who like the then Bishop of St. David's and Archdeacon Bevan, did not welcome the outspoken utterances of Dean Edwards, tried to account for the failure of the Established Church in Wales in various ways. These are repeated to-day by the present Bishop of St. David's, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and others. They plead, as an adequate reason:—

The excuses made for the failure of the Church in Wales.

(1) The churches are too few for the area in country districts. In reply to this, we remind them that Nonconformists have erected all their buildings throughout our land in a little more than 200 years. Most of these, too, have not only been built, but frequently enlarged, and even totally rebuilt, during the last century.

(2) They state that the accommodation has been too little for the population in districts where the population has rapidly increased, and that the parochial system has not been able to cope with changed circumstances. Our reply is: So much the worse for the parochial system, if it is not adapted for the existing condition of things, especially in face of the fact that Nonconformity with its voluntary principle, but with no buildings at the outset, has coped with the difficulty of the rapidly-increasing populations of industrial centres so effectually that they have become the greatest sources of its strength, and the scenes of its greatest triumphs.

(3) That the clergy have been too few for the area, the population, and the churches. That being so, let the Church produce more. This, as Dean Edwards and the late Bishop of Bangor, and others, have stated, is the great need of the Church in Wales. Even as I am passing this through the press, I read that the Diocese of Llandaff now suffers keenly from the dearth of Welsh-speaking clergy capable of ministering in the Welsh language. Appointments to several livings have, it is said, been necessarily delayed. The chief object of establishing Lampeter, ostensibly at least, was to provide for the needs of the Church in Wales. Yet Welsh, I understand, is optional in Lampeter. In any case, Welshmen are not forthcoming, for the vacancies in that very diocese, where, if the Church is to cope with the increase of population, and the advance of Nonconformity, the best men should be sent.

The present Bishop of St. Asaph circumventing the Endowment Deed of the Founder of Llandovery College.

But, after all, it is largely useless to make Welsh compulsory in Lampeter when Llandovery College, which was founded on the distinct undertaking that the wishes of the founder, Mr. Thomas Phillips, as expressed in the Endowment Deed, dated August 25, 1847, should "under no pretence or plea," "be disregarded or neglected," was, nevertheless, audaciously turned aside from "its primary and chief object," and the

trust violated by the former Warden, now the Bishop of St. Asaph. Mr. Ifano Jones says: "When the present Bishop of St. Asaph became Warden, he, in direct contravention of the will of the founder, made Welsh an optional subject side by side with French. Prior to his advent as Warden, Welsh was compulsory, the minimum time allowed for it being an hour per day."

Mr. Ifano Jones in an article in "Welsh Political and Educational Leaders of the Victorian Era."

The Deed reads thus: "The Welsh language shall be taught exclusively during one hour every school-day, and shall, during that time, be the sole medium of communication in the school, and shall be used at all other convenient periods, as far as may be possible, as the conversational language of the school, so as to familiarize the scholars with the use of it as a colloquial language, and the Master shall at all convenient times give lectures in that language upon subjects connected with Philology and upon subjects of Science and general knowledge fitting for a ministerial, or liberal education, and so as to give scholars examples of its use in its higher style as a literary language and the medium of instruction on grave and important subjects. It is especially enjoined that under no pretence or plea of the study or cultivation of the Welsh language or literature being no longer useful or required, shall the object of the Founder, or the provisions aforesaid . . . be disregarded or neglected, but that the same shall be at all times religiously and faithfully observed as the primary and chief object of the Institution." These are the vital clauses of that deed which has been violated in its most important provisions, in open daylight, and no steps have been taken to restore the Foundation, or to rebuke those who have diverted it from its original purpose. This act has given a false direction to the whole current of its influence, and the stream having thus been diverted at its source—because Llandovery, although undenominational, is largely the preparatory school for Lampeter—one can understand the difficulty of making Welsh compulsory in Lampeter for those who have given the preference to French at Llandovery.

See MS. Copy of the Endowment Deed, Cardiff Welsh Library.

Now, in view of the glaring violation of this important Trust, I will quote the statement of Mr. W. Rees, one of the Trustees of the School, who, in addition to reading and explaining the

Trust Deed, responded to the toast proposing the health of "Thomas Phillips, Esq., of Brunswick Square, London, the founder of the Welsh Grammar School," at the opening ceremony of the temporary buildings on St. David's Day (March 1), 1848. Mr. Rees, "on behalf of his esteemed and venerable friend, Mr. Phillips," said that the "advanced age of 88 years alone prevented Mr. Phillips being with them." He added: "About twelve months ago, Mr. Phillips, whose princely munificence towards St. David's College,* in the formation of several scholarships, and in enriching it with a splendid library, were so well known to all, deeply regretted that the cultivation of the Welsh language had fallen into desuetude in the College, because the Welsh professorship had not been filled up, and proposed to vest a sufficient sum in the public funds that would adequately remunerate a Professor of the Welsh language and literature. . . . After certain negotiations, an unforeseen difficulty arose, which prevented Mr. Phillips's patriotic and liberal intentions from being carried into effect, so far as regarded St. David's College, and as it seemed to be the opinion of some in authority that a due knowledge of the Welsh language should be acquired by students previous to their entering upon their theological course at the College, Mr. Phillips changed his own original purpose and . . . determined upon founding a Welsh institution, wherein young men might have an opportunity of acquiring grammatical as well as colloquial knowledge of the language of their forefathers." The speeches that followed dwelt gratefully upon the essentially Welsh and national character of the institution.

Yet, almost within one brief generation of that day, the present Bishop of St. Asaph, as Warden of Llandovery, ignored the earnest wish of this liberal donor, and daringly ignored the Trust Deed.

How the brother of Dean Edwards, the ablest advocate of Welsh for the Church in Wales in the last generation, could do this kind of thing, is an enigma. But we have long since ceased to be surprised at this Bishop. He evidently prefers French to Welsh, although he poses as the representative of Welsh Churchmen in the House of Lords and elsewhere. This became insufferable to

* That is, St. David's College, Lampeter.—D.D.

his own clergy ten years ago. He had in the language of *The Record*, "pursued, without restraint, a policy which must, sooner or later, be fatal to the position of the Church in Wales." This English Church paper added: "The hope of the four dioceses is bound up with the recognition of the Welsh. Steadily to Anglicise the Church, by pushing forward young and extreme men but little skilled in the vernacular, is suicidal." This, too, was the view of the great majority of his clergy, many of whom, however, dared not sign the memorial. But that was signed by 75 out of 206. Among those were the strongest men in the diocese. The Bishop ignored all, stating that the memorial was got up by "disappointed hunters for preferment." This he said in spite of the fact that no one knew better than himself that those who hunted for preferments, to be successful, must take the very opposite course. The result of it all was, that one of his own clergymen, when invited by the Bishop to a meeting, replied: "The only kind of meeting you deserve at my hands is the national one of cudgelling with a wild ash bludgeon." Men must have been driven to extreme exasperation by the autocratic conduct of a bishop to make it necessary, or even possible, for any one of his clergy, in writing to him, to use such a vigorous and trenchant vocabulary as that.

The revolt of the Clergy of St. Asaph ten years ago.

Ah, but the whole situation in Wales at present is very serious. What wonder is it that there are but few Welshmen in the Church to-day to fill vacancies in Welsh livings? The atmosphere of the Church is anti-Welsh, and nationalists are repelled by this. Besides, the old proud prejudice of the seventeenth century against the Welsh language, while it has practically died out of the land, still lurks in the Church. Those who occupy high places in the Church, with a few honourable exceptions, like the Bishop of St. David's—who could not conceal his nationality if he would, and who, we believe, would not, if he could—either never knew much Welsh, or have almost forgotten what they knew. Is it surprising that the Bishop of Llandaff finds such difficulty in attracting young Welshmen, while he, although he has been in Wales all his life, and chiefly in Welsh livings, mutilates Welsh as he does. On St. David's Day, in this year of Grace, 1910, he consecrated the little Welsh Church at Tylorstown. There was a large

The Church Anti-Welsh

The Bishop of Llandaff at Tylorstown March 1st. 1910.

congregation, consisting of all the Free Church ministers, with one exception, of the district, and many from their congregations. It looked like the re-union of Wales on a small scale on the day of our Welsh Patron Saint. The Bishop took for his text I. Sam. x., 6 & 26, and spoke chiefly about St. David, to whom the church was dedicated. The sermon had very little body in it. But the Bishop has a genial manner, and is, I believe, much liked as a man. The sermon, therefore, would have passed muster, if only the Welsh were tolerable. But that was deplorable. The mutations were invariably wrong, and some of the sentences were as erratic in their movements as comets, only, unlike the latter, they seldom left much light behind them. They began steadily, then increased in speed, then suddenly quivered, then darted off at a tangent, and ended in—night. Now, this kind of thing is barely worthy of a bishop who exercises authority over, and gives the lead to, the clergy of a Welsh diocese. Welshmen who were present, irrespective of the fact whether they were Churchmen or not, were amazed and grieved at the Bishop's ignorance of his mother tongue, amid conditions which supply no condoning considerations. A Welshman who has not the disposition to master his native language, in spite of the fact that he has been in Wales all his life, and ministered in Welsh livings, surely cannot be a typical bishop for a diocese in Wales. The people feel this, and resent it. The rank and file of the clergy must have a better lead, or they are practically helpless to stem the tide of unpopularity. If I were a Welsh Churchman I could not speak of the present state of things in this moderate strain; but would wish I could indulge in Dean Edwards' scathing irony, and uncompromising denunciations.

"Mabon" in the House of Commons 1886.

(4) The next plea of special pleaders for the Church in Wales is, the poverty of the endowments. This, indeed, has been the continuous cry, especially of the Bishop of St. David's. In the first place, he overlooks the fact that in North Wales, in the two dioceses which are the richest and best endowed, the Established Church is weakest, while Nonconformity is stronger than ever in the northern and southern dioceses! What a pity that facts do not fit in with Episcopal theories. Again, the Bishop largely ignores the main fact. As Mr. Abraham (Mabon) said in the House of Commons, March 31st, 1886: "If the Church had

failed to do its duty, it had not been because it was too poor. It had four bishops with stipends amounting to £17,000, deans and canons drawing £19,000 a year, and clergy with £229,000 a year, and still, with all its wealth, it had lost the people." Or, to use the words of one of her own clergy, to whom I have already referred: "In the Welsh Church there are no less than four Deaneries, four Chancelleries, three Treasurerships, fourteen Canonries, five minor Canonries, twenty-six Prebends, nine Vicarages Choral, at the disposal of the four Bishops—a staff sufficient to energize and vivify any Cathedral Establishment from the torpor of the grave." The Bishop, moreover, like his predecessor, evidently forgets that, as Mr. Stanley Leighton, M.P., once put it: "Nonconformity was founded in the absence of any endowment at all." Besides, this plea of poverty of endowments for the working clergy is specially unfortunate on the part of the occupier of a See, most of whose former bishops have done more to impoverish the clergy permanently than any others, not excepting the Bishops of St. Asaph. Mr. Clarke in his "History of the Church in Wales" (pp. 91-93) reminds us that, while Llandaff was plundered by the Norman barons, St. Asaph by its own bishops, and chapter, and relatives, and all more or less in the interests of English bishops and clergy, "*St. David's was thoroughly fleeced by its own bishops before and after the Reformation.*"

"Scheme for Reconstruction, &c.," by Rev. R. W Morgan. p. 20.

"History of the Church in Wales," by Rev. W. H. Clarke, p. 91-93.

"St. David's was thoroughly fleeced by its own bishops."

We begin with Bernard, who, as we have already seen, was thrust upon St. David's by the astute Henry I. Even Newell, who is never slow to allow for any modifying condition, or to present any ameliorating plea that can with any reason be presented on behalf of offending Church dignitaries, is obliged, as a truthful historian, to write: "Bernard . . . did not scruple to secure the support of the powerful Norman barons by alienation of Church lands. He gave away in fiefs the whole cantred of Pibidiog, in which St. David's is situated, and which had been bestowed upon the See by the native princes. Fishguard was absolutely separated from the cantred and annexed to the barony of Cemmaes. The clergy complained that he would assign ten, twenty, or even thirty plough-lands as a military fief, but thought one, two, or perhaps three enough as a portion for a canon of his

"A History of the Welsh Church," by Rev. E. J. Newell, M.A. pp. 183, 184, ed. 1895

Cathedral. . . . The introduction of the feudal tenure into the property of the See may have been a necessity of Bernard's position as a Lord Marcher, and he may have been forced, as Urban was, to condone alienations he did not approve, but as far as our evidence goes,, it is impossible to acquit him altogether of the crime of delapidation of his See. Giraldus . . . says that he alienated very much Church lands fruitlessly and uselessly with a view of gaining further preferment by translation to an English See."

David Fitzgerald succeeded Bernard, the choice of the Chapter having once more been quashed by Archbishop Theobald. This worthy emulated, and even surpassed, Bernard in his spoliation of the See. Newell reminds us that "the Cathedral was shut up during the greater part of his tenure of his See," and that he, moreover, in addition to various dilapidations of his See, "alienated certain lands as Trallwng in Brecknockshire, and others in Dugludu (now Dungleddy) and Pebidiog." Mr. Newell, moreover, states that "his anonymous biographer adds particulars, and says that he distributed to his sons and nephews, and also in dowry to his daughters, the few possessions of the See left to it by his predecessor. . . . At length the Chapter decided to prosecute their bishop before the Council of London (1176), but he met the deputation at London before they had seen the Archbishop, and promised reformation and restitution."

Ibid, p. 186

Ibid, p. 187

Peter de Leia, who succeeded him closely, followed the evil examples of his predecessors in delapidating his See. He, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, alienated the lands of Llangadoc in return for oxen, gave the lands of Llanddewi and Llanhaden to his English servants, and sold portions of the Manor of Lamphey, and many other lands connected with St. David's, to English and Irish purchasers. The conduct of this bishop toward his clergy in extorting gifts appears to have become oppressive in the extreme. He, moreover, was the first, according to Giraldus, to impose, at least every third year, the heavy burden of tallages upon the clergy. Thus, to use the words of Newell, "Episcopal avarice was displayed no less in extortions from the clergy than in a simoniacal disposal of patronage." In this respect the traditions of the episcopal succession seem to have been still further

De Jure et Statu. Eccl. op. iii, 162

Newell's History of the Welsh Church, p. 255

maintained as time advanced, for Geoffrey de Henelawe, who succeeded Peter de Leia, in spite of the determined candidature of Giraldus Cambrensis, followed loyally the example of his predecessors. Newell again writes: "He made grants of the lands of Llandegoph, of the Prebend of Brawdy, of the Manor of Llanddewi in Gower, and of the Church of Llangyfelach, gave away half the Manor of Trallwng to a powerful man of the district for oxen and cows; alienated Llangadoc and Llandygwydd, and lost by his carelessness other lands in the vale of Towy, which were seized by neighbouring barons" (De Jure Et Statu. M.E. 7: op. 111. 349. 350); and adds: "We have seen that the spoliation of the neighbouring Diocese of Llandaff was due to the powerful Norman nobles, and not to its bishops, who were at least Welshmen. Probably many of the alienations charged against the Bishops of St. David's were in like manner rather the acts of the nobles than of the bishops themselves . . . but Gerald makes no excuse for their conduct. Yet if we make certain deductions on this ground from his specification of alienations, it seems impossible to acquit the Bishops of St. David's altogether from the charge of shameless delapidation. It is worthy of remark that Gerald makes no such charge against the bishops of other dioceses." Ibid, p. 253

I do not personally agree with the suggestion that Giraldus may not have sufficiently differentiated between the acts of the bishops and those of the nobles. The very last quotation given by Newell, regarding the lands in the vale of Towy seized by neighbouring barons through the carelessness ofGeoffrey of Henelands, is a disproof of this. But apart from that, such an admission as the above from one so well disposed and scrupulously fair toward bishops and dignitaries, is significant.

But the whole history of this diocese, until a comparatively recent date, is in harmony with these early traditions. We come from the days of Giraldus Cambrensis, to the days of William Barlow , an Augustinian canon, preferred by the favour of Anne Boleyn, from St. Osyth, in Essex, to the Priory of Haverfordwest, thence apparently to the Bishopric of St. Asaph, on January 10, 1536, and transferred to St. David's on April 21, of the same year. Of him, even Newell writes: "Barlow was one of those

men . . . who to a genuine conviction of the iniquity of use
Ibid, p, 377 and wont unite a total disregard of the rights of property and a lack of comprehension of the very meaning of sacrilege, and who, if any part of the tithe and offering of which God has been robbed come by any chance into their possession, consider it to be a providential dispensation in their favour." This worthy, wishing to transfer the See to Carmarthen, built the palace at Abergwili, and stripped the episcopal palace at St. David's (built in 1342) of its lead. This "unprincipled and unscrupulous" man had "alienated much of the episcopal property, including the most valuable Manor of Lamphey, one of the choicest possessions of the See, which he granted to Henry VIII., who again granted it to Richard Devereux, the ancestors of the Earl of Essex!" Does not the Bishop think that in the work of Christianizing Wales it is possible for the Church to emulate Nonconformists in free will offerings or subscriptions, and that he might, with good grace, in the interests of his clergy, ask the Earl of Essex to head the list!

The History and Antiquities of St. David's, p, 330 The historians of St. David's throw a lurid light upon the condition of the See of St. David's for generations after this. They write: "The same system of spoliation which we have noticed in the case of Barlow, was carried on by his successor, Robert Ferrar." Nor did the mischief finish there. They also refer to other well-known names, and say: "Our witnesses being records kept under the authority of the Chapter, we cannot expect anything to the discredit of the body to have been invented or exaggerated; but glimpses of disorder even among them occasionally appear; and of these, above and below, we can record little that
Ibid, 339 is creditable. . . . Something very closely bordering upon simony appears to have been the familiar custom of Bishop Richard Davies and Marmaduke Middleton." (Reg. A. pp. 120-254 *passim.* p. 337.)

The sad part of it all is that this should be true of Bishop Ferrar, who suffered martyrdom in Carmarthen in 1555, and of Richard Davies, who, with William Salesbury, was the first translator of the New Testament into Welsh. It seems to shew that the prevailing custom of successive bishops for generations had resulted in an utter lack of moral sensitiveness as to the use that

was made of the emoluments of the Church, and that a succession to the bishopric involved also a succession to this extraordinary turpitude. We hear much talk to-day about the "atmosphere" desired by Churchmen for the schools. There seems to have been something in the " atmosphere " of Episcopal Palaces—especially those of St. David's and St. Asaph—which infallibly exerted a deadly influence upon the nobler sensibilities of even the best prelates in those degenerate days !

Nor has this condition of things long since vanished, for, well within the last century the emoluments of some of the bishops have been iniquitously large, while the working clergy have had in many instances to fight the stern battle with poverty. Bishop Jenkinson, the successor of Bishop Burgess, and predecessor of Connop Thirlwall, as late as 1839, received in addition to the £3,473, which was then the value of his bishopric, the large sum of £8,066 per annum as the possessor of the Golden Deanery of Durham, a sum in all amounting to the comfortable income of £11,539. Bishop Burgess had the same before him. Even Bishop Thirlwall who, for his learning and his diligent and successful attempt to master the Welsh language wins our admiration, was guilty of dilapidating the See, and of accepting emoluments, for which he gave no equivalent in service, to a degree that surprises us. A striking instance of this is his conduct as Dean of Christ College, Brecon, full details of which are given further on. One would have thought that these worthies could have spared a little out of their princely incomes to help their clergy in a diocese, which was one of the least tried in Wales by increase of population, in competing with stern poverty ! There are, moreover, throughout Wales, other instances of glaring misappropriations by past bishops, and others, so that, for instance, in 1836, the *working clergy* had only 33 per cent., or one-third of the parochial tithe rent charge. The other two-thirds went to lay impropriators, sinecure rectors, pluralists, absentees, and bishops.

A good second, if not an equal to St. David's, in simony and spoliation on the part of its bishops, and even to a later date, is St. Asaph—to wit, Bishop Hughes, who appropriated to himself the modest number of sixteen of the richest livings in his diocese.

Speaking more generally, Mr. Newell says: "Episcopal avarice was displayed no less in extortions from the clergy than in simoniacal disposal of patronage. Peter de Leia and Geoffrey Henelawe had an evil reputation among the Welsh bishops for their oppression. The fact is that the introduction of the Norman deans and chapters, and the enforcing of tithes and other evils prelates by the Latin Church, and the consequent introduction of connected with the rule of Canterbury, brought in like a flood the corruptions of that Church, especially in the direction of simony, extortions, and spoliation, into the Ancient Celtic Church, which, *until then, had been singularly free from those evils.*"

"The Welsh People." By Sir John Rhys, M.A., and Sir Brynmor Jones, LL.B. pp. 468-469. 1906.

Nor is this ancient history, as the Bishops of St. David's and St. Asaph would have us believe. Sir John Rhys and Sir D. Brynmor Jones, following Rev. H. W. Clarke, give as the most celebrated instance of the abuse of episcopal patronage in Wales the case of Bishop Luxmoore, who was first of all Bishop of Hereford, and was made Bishop of St. Asaph yn 1815. He was specially liberal in bestowing fat livings on near relatives.

"The History of the Welsh Church." By H. W. Clarke, B.A. pp. 142-145,

The Rev. C. S. Luxmoore, his eldest son was: (1) Dean of St. Asaph, £1,988; (2) Chancellor of St. David's, tithes £868, with £400 a year from fees; (3) Rector of Whitford, £902, and Darowen, £155; (4) in Hereford, Rector of Cradley, £1,024; (5), Vicar of Bromyard, £513 (6) of portion of Cradley, £1,400; (7), Preb. of Hereford, £50; (8), lessee of the Manor of Llandegle, belonging to the Bishop and leased to him by his father; he had a lease of the tithes of Llandegle (£117), and Llandsa (£651) for life from his father. His total annual income, therefore, was £7,618, commuted value, which was equal to £9,522 non-commuted value; also £450 from other sources, total £9,972, or deducting the £100 for the lease, £9,872.

The Rev. J. H. Luxmoore, another son, held (1), the sinecure Rectory of Llanarmon-yn-Yâl, £462; (2), the Rectory of Marchwiail, £636; (3), Morton Chapel, £600; Prebendary of Melford, £65; and he had £200 a year as joint Registrar of Hereford Cathedral. Total, £1,963 commuted value, or £2,254 non-commuted value.

The Rev. C. Luxmoore, the bishop's nephew, received: (1), The Vicarage of Berriew, £445; the Rectory of Llanymynech,

£385. Total, £830 commuted value, or £1,038 non-commuted value; and one Coryn Luxmoore received £300 a year from Guilsfield.

The Bishop himself was not a whit behind his family in this capacity for appropriation, for he received the tithes of 24 parishes, commuted £8,120; non-commuted £10,828, which was what Bishop Luxmoore received. He also received £933 a year from fee farm rents, quit rents, &c., totalling £11,761, in return for which he did not preach one sermon, or even uttered one word of spiritual consolation in the "language understanded of the people," as the 24th Article of the Church requires.

Thus the Luxmoore family received £25,225 per annum.

Sir Benjamin Hall, as late as 1850, referred in the House of Commons to the two relics then remaining of the Luxmoore family, and mentions in the case of the second (namely, J. H. Luxmoore), a Canonry of St. Asaph, £550, and Rectory of Whitford £30, in addition to those already given. All this points to the fact that the total income of the Luxmoore family for many years exceeded the estimate of £25,225, while the total amount which went to the support of all the working clergy of St. Asaph was about £18,000. It will also be observed that while that rapacious family could gulp down the largest and fattest livings without the slightest inconvenience, and even without a momentary sign of effort, they were not above seeing that the crumbs were not wasted, as in the case of "Whitford, £30," remembering as they did the Scriptural injunction not to "despise the day of small things."

There can be no doubt that the petition to the House of Commons in 1832 from Wales was, at the time it was presented, accurate in its statement of the income of the Luxmoore family as being £27,000; but that petition goes on to enumerate other payments which have never been challenged, and which, indeed, are easily verified, namely, Bishop Horsley and family, £2,590; Bishop Cleaver and family, £2,126*; English Sinecurists, £2675; the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, £2,400; English Colleges, £2,500; Absentees, £3,185. These, amounting in all to £42,476,

* Cleaver was in 1785 appointed Master of Brazenose, Bishop of Chester in 1787, translated to Bangor in 1800, and to St. Asaph in 1806. At this time he was generally away at Brazenose and London, and bestowed the fattest livings on his relatives. He was succeeded by Luxmore, a greater nepotist still.

were diverted in this notorious See of St. Asaph, while the total paid to the working clergy was £18,391. And for all this £42,476 there is not a record of a single service having been conducted, or sermon preached, by the recipients in the language in which the people were born, and in whose interests the money was obtained. Yet the Bishop of this See to-day, is the Bishop that tells us, with the Bishop of St. David's, that the failure of the Church in Wales is mainly attributable to the scarcity of funds.

"The Welsh People." p. 469.

Sir John Rhys and Sir D. Brynmor Jones add in a foot-note: "Cf. Spencer Walpole's History of England, Vol. 1, p. 149. Luxmoore was an opponent of Romilly's attempts to amend the criminal law of the time. He is specially mentioned by S. Walpole as one of the seven bishops who thought it not inconsistent with the principles of their religion to hang a man for shoplifting.

Spencer Walpole's History of England, v. I, p. 149.

Ibid, v. ii., p. 133

One cannot help wondering at the advantages to be gained by "being in the succession" with men like Bishop Luxmoore, and a few others like Barlow, Hughes, Majendie, Cleaver, Horsley, and Watson, sandwiched in at frequent intervals.

It is a striking fact that the two champions of the Church in Wales, who are loudest in proclaiming its historic glory, and the wrongs it has endured from without, and who, in pious horror, lift up their hands and shudder at the very thought of the spoliation which such just and considerate proposals as those recently made for disestablishment would involve, are the occupiers of the two Sees notorious throughout the centuries for unscrupulous acts of simony and spoliation by their own bishops. These acts throughout the ages have contributed a hundredfold more to the poverty of its working clergy, and the humiliating isolation and inefficiency of the Church itself, than all other wrongs it has endured from without.

Now this insatiable greed on the part of Church dignitaries, at the cost of unrighteously impoverishing the poor clergy, has not even now quite disappeared. From the loud protestations on the part of the Church prelates—especially the Bishops of St. David's and St. Asaph—against depriving the parish clergy of their tithes, one would imagine that, in spite of the shocking records of the past, modern dignitaries have clean hands in this respect. Let us see.

The Rev. H. W. Clarke thus summarizes a disgraceful story : "A History of Tithes," p. 217. 1891.
"The endowments of the Welsh bishops and Cathedral Churches were taken from the parochial tithes. This meant spiritual destitution in such Welsh parishes. The Norman Conquerors seized and held the Welsh Episcopal and Cathedral Endowments; then the bishops and chapters seized the parochial tithes, and at the time of the Reformation, the Crown annexed additional parochial tithes in augmentation of episcopal and capitular incomes. These tithes were not, as in England, monastic, but were actually taken from the parish clergy by virtue of the Crown's prerogative as head of the Church."

It is well known that these abuses were in full swing in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century; and that after inquiry The Cathedral Act was passed in 1840. Prior to that the tithes were commuted in 1836, when the Ecclesiastical Commission was created. The state of things in that year is briefly summarized in the following paragraphs in order of precedence of abuses existing in each diocese :—

1. St. Asaph : A total of £25,890 in tithes from 58 parishes, was taken annually by 3 bishops and 3 chapters; £846 by vicars choral—besides £6,227 (commuted tithe values) by 15 sinecure rectors—a grand total of £32,963 in all—from the working clergy of the diocese.

2. St. David's : A total of £6,068 in tithes was taken by four bishops from 32 parishes; £8,148 by 2 chapters from 39 parishes; £11,815 by separate estates and prebendaries from 52 parishes—besides £971 by 4 sinecure rectors—or, £27,002 in all from the working clergy of the diocese.

3. Llandaff : A total of £2,302 in tithes was taken annually by 2 bishops from 13 parishes, and £9,995 by 3 deans and chapters from 63 parishes, or £12,297 in all, from the working clergy of the diocese.

4. Bangor : A total of £4,714 10s. 0d. was taken annually by 2 bishops from 20 parishes; £1,827 by Jesus College, Oxford, and its Principal, from 5 parishes; £1,882 by the dean (2 parishes) and chapter (besides £1,882 from Montgomeryshire), or £8,423 10s. in all, from the working clergy of the diocese.

It will be noted that by far the most scandalous offenders are the Sees of St. Asaph and St. David's, whose bishops are now

loudest in their protestations against anything that would limit the income of the poor clergy!

Now, such being the scandalous state of things in 1836, and even in 1840, when the Cathedral Act was passed, it will be interesting to note the attitude and conduct of the Cathedral dignitaries toward the Act, which had for its special object the amelioration of the condition of the leaner parish clergy, at the cost of relieving bishops, deans and chapters—especially prebendaries—of their superfluous fat. Were they then as anxious as they seem to be now to protect the poor clergy? We do not forget the manifesto issued in 1895 against Mr. Asquith's Bill, by the archbishops and bishops, and, of course, the Welsh bishops, in which it is pathetically stated that "the plan of Disendowment is to alienate for secular purposes those ancient gifts by which the service of God and *the pastoral care of Christian people have been for centuries maintained in every parish. We cannot but look on these gifts as the heritage of the poor.*"

In the first place, we have seen what an impudent perversion of facts, at least, so far as Wales is concerned, the first phrase in italics contains. Now, what about the second sentence? Can any one who has signed that manifesto issued by the archbishops and bishops shew where a *single penny* of the total of £315,000 of tithes, payable in Wales and Monmouthshire, is paid to the poor—unless the poor clergy are included in that epithet?

But whether we understand by the phrase the poor clergy, or the poor to whom they are supposed to minister, I ask what value can be attached to the solicitude of Church dignitaries in the light of the facts already supplied?

Now, as I have just said, it would be interesting in this connexion to note what attitude they maintained toward the Cathedral Act of 1840, which was specially designed in the interests of the poor parish clergy. The story is not well known. It has been suppressed with great persistency and skill. By an unfortunate oversight, Parliament, in the early proceedings, omitted to prohibit the renewal of tithe leases. Besides, it had been known for years by those interested that such a measure would ultimately be passed, probably soon. What did the Cathedral dignitaries do in view of this Act for the amelioration of the suffering of the poorer clergy?

Some of the bishops and chapters; especially the prebendaries—and notoriously among them the prebendaries of St. David's—anticipated and frustrated the beneficent operation of the Act by leasing their tithes in each case on three of the youngest and most vigorous lives that they could find. They thus succeeded in postponing the proposed alleviation of the poverty of the working clergy in many instances for two generations. At that time not a single dignitary held up his hand in pious horror at the sufferings of those clergy in the Church, who did most of its work, but had least of its endowments.

But let us see how all this scheming has worked out in detail, taking St. David's, the second in the list, as an example. We have seen how keen the prebendaries were to frustrate the beneficent working of the Cathedral Act on behalf of the poor clergy, and how thoroughly they succeeded in, at least, delaying its operations for more than two generations. Now, at the passing of the Act the Cathedral clergy of St. David's possessed £9,754 per annum of tithes as prebendal and separate estates, at the cost of fleecing 43 parishes of the diocese. I have indicated how the prebendaries, taking advantage of their knowledge that the Cathedral Act was likely to pass, and of the omission of Parliament in the early proceedings to prevent renewal of leases, renewed them to the utmost of their powers. Thus, between the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in 1836, and the passing of the Cathedral Act, in 1840, the prebendaries amassed fortunes in renewing the tithe leases on the youngest lives, and thus depriving the parishes of the incomes, in spite of the Act, until those leases expired. The result was that, in January, 1897, when the present Bishop of St. David's was appointed—57 years after the passing of the Act—there were 19 leases, representing £4,762, of the original £9,754, still running on, and the poor clergy of the parishes were still deprived of that income. Annually, for the 57 years that had elapsed, they had been robbed of sums varying from £9,754 to £4,762—the former representing the approximate amount for the greater portion of that period, as the leases on the three young lives in each case would not fall in until a generation, or more, had passed.

Mr. Clarke, who wrote in 1896, gives the full details of these tithe rents, and adds that four bishops, viz., of St. David's, Glou-

cester and Bristol, Chester, and Lincoln received in the aggregate £4,964 15s. 3d. per annum from 29 parishes! Summing up all the rascalities in one item, he states that these bishops, chapters, and prebendaries "received from the Diocese of St. David's the total amount of £20,982 of the commuted tithes, out of a hundred and five parishes; the tithes of one parish which had been in the possession of the bishop are still out on lease, amounting to £280."

On a smaller scale, this applies to all the Welsh dioceses. How scandalous it is that, in view of the poverty of a large number of the working clergy of St. David's, when an Act of Parliament was passed to ameliorate their hard lot, bishop and chapter, especially prebendaries of the See should have availed themselves of their knowledge that such an Act was likely to pass, to issue leases of tithes on the lives of the youngest and most robust children they could find, so that the day when the poor clergy should reap the benefit of such a beneficial measure, should be postponed as long as possible. And these, or their descendants in office, are the very ones who now are stirred to the point of execration at the thought of a Bill for Disestablishment and Disendowment being passed, in which the fullest consideration is given to existing interests, and generous concessions are made, especially in all buildings, and all endowments received for the last 250 years, being retained by the Church for all time!

"Clarke's History of the Church of Wales," pp. 224, 205

I am assured that even now, in 70 years after the passing of the Act, there are leases still running; but so far I have not been able to verify this by statistics. Now, when has the Bishop ever been known to lift up his voice against this monstrosity, especially in view of the fact that in emulation of the prebendaries a former bishop of this See had secured leases also? As an instance of this, the lease of the bishop on the tithes of the Vicarage of Bettws, Carmarthenshire, did not lapse till 1889. Thus that bishop received £280 a year, at the cost of depriving that Vicarage, for 49 years!

The lease on the tithes of Llanfair, Dyffryn Clwyd, in the Diocese of St. Asaph, value £581 per annum, and a lease by a former venerable archdeacon of Llandaff on the tithes of Merthyr Mawr, £140 per annum, were also still running merrily along in 1896. How much longer they continued at the cost of the parish clergy, I have not been able to find out.

But the above is surely sufficient to shew the scandalous way in which the parish clergy of Wales have been starved by the bishops and Cathedral dignitaries, not only through the weary centuries, but also in defiance of the Cathedral Act and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the last 70 years.

And now a word about the way even the Ecclesiastical Commission has been manipulated by bishops at the cost of the poor clergy. This, of course, applies to England and Wales. On this question the returns which Sir Benjamin Hall (afterwards Lord Llanover), and others, by persistent efforts, were able to obtain, cast a lurid light on this subject.

Sir Benjamin addressed the House of Commons, July 8, 1850, in a debate, when, in view of facts which had been brought to light as to the part the bishops had played on the Ecclesiastical Commission, the question before the House was whether the Episcopal Body should continue to sit as Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or whether the Ecclesiastical Commission should be confined to three persons—two to be appointed by the Crown, and one to be appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He said: "A statement was made to the House by my Honourable Friend, three or four years ago, to the effect that on the bishops' palaces and lands they spent no less a sum than £143,014. . . . Up to a very recent time all the bishops were obliged to pay interest on all monies borrowed for improvement of their palaces, as *is now the case with the minor clergy*. But by an Act which they very adroitly got through Parliament, the bishops absolved themselves from all payments of the kind, and they have taken money from the Episcopal Fund, for which they do not pay any interest whatever, and have expended it on their palaces. The money is taken out of a fund (which I repeat) ought to go to remunerate the poor clergy; and thus upon the enormous sum of £143,000, to which I have already referred, not one shilling of interest is paid, whereas if a poor Welsh rector had borrowed £100, he would be obliged not only to pay interest, but an annual sum also, in liquidation of the sum advanced to him. . . .

"Are not these monstrosities? And can any one have faith in these Ecclesiastical Commissioners, where such facts have been made known to the public? I will undertake to say, that if we

look to the period of the Papacy, from the time of Panphilj Doria down to Braschi (Pius VI.), who was the last Pope who built a palace at Rome, that there never was a more extravagant appropriation of ecclesiastical property.

"In order to shew the poverty of the clergy of these eight Sees*, and how little the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have cared for them (for that is what I particularly blame them for) there are 85 parishes where the incomes are less than £50 a year. There are 417 parishes where the incomes are between £50 and £100 a year; and yet upon these 502 livings, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have spent only £5,295, whereas they themselves have spent nearly £144,000 upon residences and domains for the Bishops. . . .

"Would it not be better that these poor men should be paid more, and the bishops rather less? And who has the control of this money, but the bishops themselves? And, therefore, I say, acting as they have done, *they are unworthy to remain on the Ecclesiastical Board*. . . . I think that it would be very desirable that the Right Reverend Prelates should have before them in large and manifest letters the 34th chapter of Ezekiel!

"Now, let me ask, whether they have attended as Commissioners to one of the most useful institutions as regards the interests of the working clergy, I mean Queen Anne's Bounty? Have they attended to the abolition of pluralities? Have they attended to the interests of the poor clergy? Have they suggested any remedy whatever while sitting at their Board, in Whitehall, for the abuses which exist in their own courts? Have they even attempted to set upon a right and proper footing the Cathedral Establishments? And have they ever attempted to make the prebendaries do their duty?

"Let us go into some of these cases seriatum: First of all, I will refer to what their conduct has been with reference to that most useful institution . . . namely Queen Anne's Bounty. Their attendance has been most constant as Commissioners at the Ecclesiastical Board: their punctuality as regards their own interests has been extraordinary. But let us see how they have attended at Queen Anne's Bounty Board. The revenue of that fund is about £180,000 a year, the expense of the office about

*Eight Sees which had been mentioned in the earlier part of the speech.—D.D.

£4,000 a year, and other expenses about £7,000 a year, making a total of £11,000. In 1848 there were seven meetings of the Governors, three committees, ten in the whole. There were twenty Governors. At these ten meetings the Archbishop of Canterbury attended nine times. . . . the Bishop of Oxford eight times, the Bishop of Chichester and Winchester six times, the Bishops of London, Worcester, and *Bangor* five times, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Norwich four times, the Bishops of Carlisle, Lichfield, Gloucester, Bristol, and Salisbury three times; the Bishop of Durham, with his £20,000 a year, attended only once, and the Bishops of *St. David's*, Lincoln, *Llandaff*, Ripon, Rochester and *St. Asaph* attended only once during the year. . . .

"With regard to the meetings of the Building Committee for these poor clergymen . . . there were 13 Commissioners in the year 1849. The buildings were to be paid out of this fund. There were 18 meetings. Will it be believed that at only three of these meetings more than two members were present? And very frequently these were not members of the Episcopal Body. . . . It seems probable that the only time the bishops attended was when they wanted to borrow money from this institution, because it is well known 'from the year 1829 to 1847 the bishops borrowed, at long rates of interest, the sum of £80,000 of Queen Anne's Bounty, to build and repair their own palaces, repayable by easy instalments in from 20 to 40 years.'"

In further enforcement of the duty of Parliament to take the management of the property vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners out of the hands of the episcopal body, "because the management of the ecclesiastical property hitherto by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had been most blameable," Sir Benjamin proceeded to shew the incredible disparity between the report of the Commission and that of The Committee of the House of Commons (?). He stated: "It appears by the Report of the Commission (Liber. Ecclesiasticus, page 4) that the gross income of the Bishop of Chester is stated to be £3,951. That is according to this return; but in the Committee's Report, p. 71 of the summary, the Bishop is stated to have returned the value of the estates at £16,236, so that there is a loss in that diocese alone to the Church annually of no less than £12,285. As regards the Archbishop of

York, as stated in the summary of the Committee, the value of the estates is £41,030, and in the Liber. Ecclesiasticus, the gross income is only stated at £13,798, so that there is an annual loss there of £27,232, by the mismanagement of that property. Next I come to the Dean and Chapter of Wells. The value of their estates is £23,000 a year, and the average receipts only £6,700, so that there is an annual loss of £16,300. Then we come to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor—the annual value of the estates amount to £53,315, while the gross income is returned at £22,475, making the annual loss of £30,840. In these four instances alone, there is a loss of no less than £86,657 annually!

"In the year 1838 there was a Committee appointed, which was called the Church Leases Committee. . . The Committee made their report on the 6th of May, 1839, . . 'that the only mode of remedy is the abolition of the injurious system of fines upon leases for lives and also upon leases for terms.' . . The Church Leases Committee, on the 11th of July, 1838, made an application to the Bishops and to the Chapter Clerks for a return of the total annual value of the property in Lands, Houses, Tithes, mines, or other property, respectively let on leases for lives, and the rate at which the renewals paid on each class were calculated at the last renewal, with the same account with respect to leases for terms of years.' . . Some of their answers are very amusing documents, and they are very well worth reading. Here is one from the Bishop of Exeter: 'The demand for information as to the particulars enumerated, even if we were authorized by Act of Parliament, I should deem a most tyrannical inquisition into *my property*; but proceeding as it does from one House of Parliament, I should resist it as an assumption of power unknown to the law, even if it were urged as imperative.' . . . Several other bishops returned similar answers. . . . At the instance of . . . the Member for the University of Cambridge, a motion was put on the minutes of the Committee, to the effect that these letters should not be published, and it was only carried by a majority of one. . . . Out of 26 Archbishops and Bishops 16 sent answers. . . . The Bishop of Worcester took no notice whatever of the communication, and nine prelates refused to give any account at all. The Bishop of Winchester, one of the richest

prelates of the realm, was one of them, and it is a curious fact that the other eight bishops held large preferments, independent of their Sees. For instance, the Bishop of Bangor was Archdeacon of Bangor and Anglesey, Rector of Llangristiolus, Rector of Llandyrnol, and was also Rector of Llanddyfnau. . . . And then lastly, the Bishop of St. David's, who was Dean of the Collegiate Church of Brecon, and Dean of Durham, which last Deanery alone gave him an income of nearly £4,000 year." Sir Benjamin may have added that the Deanery of the Collegiate Church of Brecon which, as we have shewn elsewhere, was in ruins, and utterly neglected brought him another £4,000 a year.

Sir Benjamin added : " I will now shew the manner in which the episcopal body have enforced the duties of the clergy within their own dioceses. . . . A Return was laid upon the table of the House a few days ago. . . . There were 4,307 clergymen non-resident, and of these 937 are non-resident without either exemption or license. Nobody on earth knows why they are non-resident, not even the bishops themselves. . . . Although this Return was ordered to be made by the Act of 1st and 2nd Victoria Chap. 106, it appears that out of 4,322 benefices, 1,963 are returned without any statement of the value, and this imperfect document the episcopal body lay upon the table of the House, knowing that they have not complied with the provisions of the Act . . . because, according to the Act of 1840, the bishops ought to have a return of the value of every benefice . . . we are kept in the dark as to the value of those benefices, because the bishops choose to withhold the information."

After this it will surprise no one that the following year, on the motion of the Marquis of Blandford, for " Church Extension out of the Resources of the Established Church," Sir Benjamin returned to the subject of the incomes of Archbishops and Bishops. On May 2nd, 1850, as the result of the action of Sir Benjamin, a return was ordered from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but it was not presented until June 22nd, 1851. Sir Benjamin, speaking on July 1st, said that he hoped the House would bear with him while he stated what the Archbishops and Bishops of the Established Church had received according to the document so tardily furnished by themselves. The result of the whole was that the

gross income of the preceding seven years amounted to the enormous sum of £1,535,974. The *nett* income was £1,344,170. This was only the episcopal property. Would it be believed," added Sir Benjamin, "that the fines received from leases granted for lives and for terms of years amounted to £636,387? Now, when they took fines upon such levies they robbed the Church. . . . By an Act of the Legislature in 1836, it was intended that the archbishops and bishops should have fixed revenues, varying from £4,200 to £15,000 a year . . . and the public were led to believe that the income of the bishop should be confined to the sum set down for the See. Many of the laity, however, protested against leaving the property of the See in the hands of the bishops, and desired that the whole should be placed under the control of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and that the bishop should receive as annual nett income, the exact sum assigned to the See. The bishops, on the other hand, objected to any such proposition. . . . The bishops desired the entire management of the property, and the result has been that some of the bishops on the new formation have received an enormous sum beyond the income assigned to the See, and that others have not only taken annual sums from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to make up a contemplated deficiency of income, but have received large sums by taking fines upon granting leases, and from other sources, making on the whole an income very far greater than it was ever intended they should enjoy; and there were other bishops who, having to pay over to the Commissioners a contemplated surplus, had refused to pay over that surplus, because, as they alleged, they had not been able to make it out of the See. All this appears in Parliamentary Papers Nos. 153 and 400. Thus,it seems, that when it suited their pecuniary interests, they adhered to the letter of the Statute, but when they found they were not gainers, they demurred to its provisions, and consequently deprived the common fund of the sums which were to have gone to the augmentation of small livings."

Now, it should not be overlooked that the bishops who had to deal with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners with regard to these financial matters were themselves the prepondering body on that Commission, and thus were judges as well as defendants—a most

convenient arrangement. Now, according to this return, the Bishop of St. David's, in the seven years, received £38,126, instead of the stipulated £31,500, or £6,626 more than was fixed —not a penny of which he returned to the Commissioners; while the Bishop of Llandaff, who received many thousands less from his See than the stipulated sum, would have the deficiency made good by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. But this is not all. The Bishop of St. David's had also received £1,600 a year from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in order (as it was asserted) to make up the £4,500, his fixed salary, although he had received from the estate nearly £1,000 a year more! It will be noted, moreover that the £8,000 a year which the Bishop of St. David's obtained for the two Deaneries would not be included in this little calculation. Thus, in all, the Bishop of St. David's received during the seven years, including the £1,600 he received annually to make up the £4,500 fixed salary, and the £8,000 for his deaneries, £73,826, or £10,546 5s. 8d. per annum in excess of his fixed salary; and yet the present Bishop of St. David's tells us that the stumbling block in the way of Church progress is the lack of emoluments.

Sir Benjamin Hall, moreover, called attention to the fact that "what with some bishops taking more, and others not paying what they really owed, in spite of their being constantly dunned by the Secretary of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, there was no less than £42,500 due to the Commissioners, " which should have been available for increasing the incomes of small livings, and paying, for instance, poor Welsh clergymen, who had scarcely enough to support their existence. Of this amount the Bishop of St. Asaph owed £1,661, notwithstanding certain deductions allowed to his lordship."

It will be easily seen from the above that, whoever may be concerned about the interests of the poor clergy, the bishops as a class—especially the representatives of the notorious Sees of St. Asaph and St. David's—can by no stretch of imagination lay claim to that amiable weakness by virtue of their "succession." They have in the past been too much engrossed with their own princely stipends, fines, and palaces. It is, therefore, unseemly that after such a record as we have supplied, practically up to the present

generation, they should assume the role of defenders of the poor clergy, and that without a word of apology for the incongruity, or even a new-born blush for the record of their Sees!

Now, here I must confess that I am really bewildered, when I read the words of the Bishop of St. David's at the Church Congress at Manchester, in October, 1908: "There was nothing in the past history, or the present work, or the future responsibility of the Church in Wales which would justify Welsh Disestablishment." Side by side with this I will place the words of Dr. Wace, the Dean of Canterbury, the following year (1909) at the Church Congress at Swansea: "There have doubtless been periods when the Church in Wales deserved to be disestablished." The Bishop of St. David's had stoutly denied that. Now my bewilderment is here. I have always felt that the Bishop of St. David's, in spite of the fact that he is a vehement partisan, and as such has his vision often greatly distorted, is a conscientious opponent. That being so, I ask myself, whether, in the face of the shocking disclosures of abuses in the Church of Wales, which I have given in this book, it is possible for Bishop Owen, conscientiously to utter the above words? I can only account for them by believing that the Bishop is ignorant of the facts; and yet such ignorance is surely culpable in the extreme on the part of a gentleman occupying his position!

Bishop Owen, at the Barrow Church Congress, in dwelling on this question, said: "There was documentary evidence shewing the poverty of the Welsh dioceses as compared with the rest of the Church at the end of the thirteenth century, at the time of the Reformation, and likewise at the beginning of both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." Yes, and the Bishop should have added that there is also documentary evidence to show that this poverty is almost entirely due to the alienation of Church funds by Church rulers and dignitaries, and, in the case of St. David's, especially by the bishops. This is shewn to have prevailed almost without a break for centuries by the historians of his own See. They state: "Nor did the bishops spare the endowments of their own Sees, but partly by alienation, and partly by subinfeudation, granted away a large part to the avaricious invaders (Ang. Sac. II., p. 531). To indemnify themselves, they laid heavy

burdens on the clergy. They supplicated for aids, they imposed tallage and tolls, and sold their collations with the utmost effronteries (Ibid, pp. 527-530). Giraldus recites a series of racy anecdotes illustrative of the utter corruption of the See. He compares the Bishop to Simon Magus, or rather Gehazi. Nor did the laity escape. . . They were not content to pluck them, says our informant . . "they skinned them" (Ang. Sac II., p. 259). They add, as already shewn: "Our witnesses being records kept under the authority of the Chapter, we cannot expect anything to the discredit of that body to have been invented or exaggerated. . . . Something very closely bordering upon simony appears to have been the familiar custom of Bishops Richard Davies and Marmaduke Middleton (Reg. A., pp. 120-254, passim.)."

Is it not exceedingly strange that the Bishop can repeatedly enlarge upon the poverty without, in common fairness, whispering a word about the plunder! When can we get these bishops to speak out and make a clean breast of the whole thing? It is too late in the day to plead poverty without admitting why the poverty exists, although in doing so it should clearly appear that the flock has been bountifully fleeced by its own shepherds! These facts have been successfully concealed far too long, and I invite the Bishop of St. David's, who, in the main, is a fair combatant, in spite of his wild harum-scarum generalizations, to give fair prominence to this side of the question. He certainly owes this at least to his working clergy, as the successor of the bishops who have done so much to reduce them permanently to indigence.

Suppression of monasteries, by Henry VIII, did not affect the endowments of the Celtic Church.—J. W. Willis Bund's "Celtic Church of Wales."

Even the frequent references made by the Bishops of St. David's and St. Asaph, and others, to the terrible impoverishment of the Welsh Sees by Henry VIII., by the suppression of the monasteries and the alienation of their possessions to favourites and others, are largely misleading, and, in the exaggerated form in which the case is stated, are only so much stage play, if not, indeed, the result of an imperfect acquaintance with facts. The monasteries which were plundered were not the old Celtic monasteries, which had already been long since plundered by Norman Kings and Archbishops. These monasteries were Latin—namely, those formed under Norman rule. These had, doubtless, largely thrived upon the alienation of parochial funds. This, however, had been done

by the Anglo-Norman authorities in Church and State, and the funds had long since been absorbed and assimilated beyond all recognition. While, therefore, Mr. Bund's statement that "the Latin monasteries and their endowments have nothing to do with the endowments of the Celtic Church," may, in view of that fact, be considered somewhat misleading, yet his subsequent statement is unquestionably historically true, namely:— . . . The Latin monasteries obtained in different ways, lands, monies, and tithes, that had never belonged to any religious body, and when the Reformation came and swept away the Latin monasteries, their revenues went to the Crown: however unjust the conduct of the Crown may have been, it did not rob or affect the Celtic Church of Wales, for the property . . . belonged . . . to her deadly foe, the Latin."

It will be seen from all that has been stated that the comparative poverty of the working clergy was chiefly due to the greed of the bishops and Cathedral dignitaries, clerical appropriation, lay impropriators, sinecure rectors and others, and absentees, who did little or no work, and that this scandal is one main reason of Welsh dissent, while the total neglect of the Welsh-speaking population greatly aggravated the situation, and was that upon which Dean Edwards dwelt with such passionate fervour and withering rebuke. To this I shall now refer.

(5). The bilingual difficulty is the last of the bogies. This again is at a minimum in three out of the four dioceses—especially St. David's. Llandaff has, confessedly, had to cope with this. But so has Nonconformity, which is nowhere as vigorous as it is to-day in Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire.

Nay, these are poor sham pleas, the fallacy of which the late Dean of Bangor was not slow to detect and repudiate. He placed his finger upon the spot. The bilingual difficulty is the one which the Church has readily welcomed as supplying an excuse for ignoring Welsh, and thrusting English upon the people, in harmony with the ancient and continuous policy of Canterbury, where there is no bilingual difficulty at all; but where the people, in language, sentiment, and aspirations, are essentially Welsh.

In 1879 certain clergy of the Diocese of Bangor wrote a letter to the Bishop of Llandaff in which they referred to recent appoint-

ments by the Bishop of Llandaff of a Canon Residentiary, and of a Dean, two gentlemen "unconnected with the Principality, strangers to the national feeling, and unable to minister in a tongue 'understanded of the people.'" They proceeded to say: "We would suggest, with great deference, that the alienation of the Welsh-speaking population in your diocese is in no slight degree due to the fact that among the residentiary dignitaries of your Cathedral staff . . . there was not a single clergyman until quite recently qualified by the knowledge of the Welsh language to exercise influence over the Welsh-speaking people, or appreciate the forces by which their inner life is moved. . . . We venture to believe that the ecclesiastical endowments of Wales are the patrimony of the Welsh people. To devote such endowments to the maintenance of clergy who cannot minister to the large Welsh-speaking masses in their own tongue, and who cannot enrich the literature which they read, or exercise spiritual influence over them, is to divert the Church's resources from their high purpose."

The protest, too, sent to the Bishop of St. Asaph against his persistent Anglicising policy in appointing young Englishmen to Welsh livings in that diocese only ten years ago, is notorious, and is referred to elsewhere (p. 148). This anti-national prejudice is by no means confined to Church dignitaries. It is as widely shared, and, whenever possible, enforced, by Church patrons of the *Dic Shôn Dafydd* type. Of this we were supplied with a striking instance as late as January, 1908, where in the face of persistent complaints of parishioners, and the earnest and vigorout protests of Rev. D. Bankes-Williams, Canon Camber Williams, and a large number of the clergy—who, like the late Deans Edwards and Howell, see the madness of this Anglicising Church policy—an Englishman was dumped on a Welsh-speaking community at Tonna, Neath.* The bishop at first protested, but ultimately, under pressure from the Trustee of the lady who had bequeathed the money—since he insisted upon the appointment being made or the endowment being totally withheld—the bishop

The protests of Rev. D. Bankes-Williams and Canon Camber Williams

* The circumstances connected with this appointment are the following:—For all practical purposes, Tonna and Aberdulais are one undivided township. The chapels of the two villages draw promiscuously from both. The result is that the Vicar of Tonna has applied to the Vicar of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath for permission to visit members of his own congregation living in Aberdulais. Thus for all religious purposes the parish

reluctantly confirmed the appointment, in order to procure the endowment of this new parish.

Those mighty words uttered by Dean Edwards at Swansea, to which we have referred, rang in the ears of the dignitaries and clergy of the Established Church, and drew forth some faint protests from those special pleaders that followed, including the then Bishop of St. David's, who still clung to the flattering fallacy, that the failure of the Church in Wales was due to its poverty of endowments and the bilingual difficulty, forgetful of the fact that, as Mr. Leighton, M.P., reminded them, that "Nonconformity was founded in the absence of any endowments at all"—and, he might have added, in the face of the self-same bilingual difficulty. All that was said, however, only brought the Dean to his feet, and to conclude with the clear ringing challenge: "I will now only add that what I have stated in my paper, I am prepared to establish."

Dean Edwards' challenge never accepted.

Referring to that calm undertaking the late Dean Edwards gave, if required, to substantiate everything he had said at the Church Congress in 1879, at Swansea, it should be remembered that no one ever requested him to fulfil his part of the challenge. But he was never again asked to speak on the same subject; while some of the smaller men who defended the Church, at every cost, were frequently in requisition after that, and great promotions awaited others. That eloquent son of the Church, who had scarcely his peer in it, was destined to suffer for his fidelity. Instead of hearkening to his burning words of rebuke and warning, and his fervent words of counsel, the dignitaries of the Church, ostrich-like, hid their heads in the sand, thinking that all the deformities and irregularities, as well as all danger, were thus removed. Meanwhile they decreed that the disturbing voice should not be heard again. Dean Edwards, Dean Howell, Rector Griffith, and Archdea-

boundaries are ignored, although Tonna and Aberdulais are divided ecclesiastically. There are six chapels in this united township, the population of which is rather over 2,000. Five of these are Welsh—three Calvinistic Methodist Chapels connected with which are 290 communicants. 300 Sunday School Scholars; a Baptist Chapel with 230 communicants, and 280 Sunday School Scholars; a Congregational Chapel with 40 communicants, and 50 Sunday School Scholars. The Sunday evening Welsh congregations average in the aggregate about 900. The only English Chapel in the place is very small, and will not seat more than 150, while its communicants are 35, and its Sunday evening congregation about 60. It is in the midst of this population that a monoglot Englishman has been appointed for the only Anglican Church, against what the Rev. D. Bankes-Williams states to have been "the firm but quiet and respectful opposition of every prominent incumbent throughout the rural deanery, with the exception of one Vicar (who could not be expected to give his opinion openly)." It will thus be seen that the attitude of the local clergy was thoroughly commendable in this matter, as, indeed, it would generally be if they had the deciding voice.—D.D.

con Griffiths, the four men eloquent of the past generation, but who used their great gifts to rebuke and warn, instead of exclaiming "peace," when there was no "peace," had to suffer and remain comparatively in the shadow, when men who never reached their ankles, and who have never yet learned to discern the signs of the times, were promoted to high places. These four have not left an equal behind them.

There are still able men, though not a man of the quality of the four just mentioned, and these are, almost without exception, Nationalists, who have no sympathy with the suicidal Anglicising policy, condemned by centuries of failure.

Among the younger men, too, is the Vicar of Aberffrâw, the nephew of Dean Edwards, who has many of his uncle's gifts, and all his daring. The eloquent and fearless Dean of Bangor, loved his Church as fervently as any man could, and, because he loved it, and saw it throwing away its last chances, as if with penal blindness, lifted up his voice like a prophet just thirty years ago. He lived long enough—not, indeed, to take part in the Congress at Swansea thirty years later, namely last autumn, and to see what a fiasco that was, as compared with what he had hoped it might be, if his warning had been but heeded; but he lived long enough to see that his words were resented by the authorities of his Church, lived long enough to bear the penalty of his daring by being boycotted and ignored. That resolute, but sensitive, spirit at last recoiled, and, in one unhappy moment, the Church in Wales was deprived of the presence of one whose heart was broken, and whose nerves had been shattered, but whose ministry in high places, if he had been spared, would have done more than all else to save it from its mad Anglicising career.

Rector John Griffith of Merthyr, on the Church as a "failure in Wales."

The well-known Rev. John Griffith, late Rector of Merthyr Tydfil, went further than even the late Dean of Bangor, for he strongly pleaded for Disestablishment. In 1880, a short time before his death, he wrote: "Can any honest man say that, compared with the whole number of the Welsh people, whether English-speaking or Welsh-speaking there are, so to speak, any significant number of the Welsh people belonging to the Church of England in Wales? Are they not, nearly all of them, either the old gentry of Wales and their followers, or the *Dic Shôn Dafydd*

gentry, who consider the parish church a deal more respectable than either Bethel, Zoar, or Sardis, where their fathers were, and where they were before *Dic Shôn Dafydd* made them rich. The whole question, I say now, as I said at Swansea, is, *that the Church is a failure in Wales*, and, therefore, on all fair grounds, *she is not entitled to be a State Church*; consequently, as she does not come up to the standard of payment by results, she has no right to the payment itself, and *Parliament, therefore, has a perfect right to deprive her of it.*"

Although Dean Edwards was, unlike the Rector of Merthyr, strongly adverse to Disestablishment, and because, indeed, he dreaded that as an increasing probability, he would have given its patrons and dignitaries no rest until they had abandoned that old policy which has proved to be such a dismal failure, the policy, as he described it, of "driving the Welsh into the adoption of English by despising and ignoring it in the high places of the Church," but which, instead, "has driven the Welsh people out of the Church into the chapels, under the influence of intensely national Welsh-speaking teachers, and has prolonged the life of the language for many generations."

The Anglicising policy of the Church bringing its own Nemesis.

It has been a total failure through its abuses of its unique position, high privileges, and especially through its anti-national attitude. It is this that has branded it with utter failure everywhere, except where English people and the English language are predominant. The Anglicising policy of the Church brings upon it its own Nemesis, and this Dean Edwards quickly saw, and, in thundering voice, that might have awakened all but the dead out of their slumbers, clearly predicted. The tyranny of Canterbury, too, which, by the aid of English Kings, thrust itself upon St. David's, robbing it of its Welsh precedence, in spite of the vain protests and vain struggles of the Welsh bishops, he bitterly denounced, and, in the last book and greatest effort he ever made to save the Church from its mad career, he wrote these despairing words: "That the persistent efforts of injustice are about to work out their own punishment; that Canterbury is about to suffer the penalties of its ancient injustice to St. David's—those men who foresee the course of ecclesiastical events in the coming years will, perhaps, be able to predict. That the forces which have been long

dormant in the religious attitude of the Cymric people, are destined to exercise a commanding influence in shaping those events, and are at present threatening to be no slight source of weakness to the English establishment, is certain. The influence of the religious genius of the Cymric race, crushed by the long oppression, retired to its own wild fastnesses : but to-day it is rising from the tomb that recalls the epitaph—' Hic jacet Arcturus, rex quondam rexque futurus ' words significant of the imperishable spirit of Cymric nationality."

Illustrative of how deep-rooted this belief in the might of Welsh religious teaching—so sadly neglected by the Church—was in the heart of the Dean, we find him exclaim in that memorable speech of his in the Church Congress at Swansea, in 1879 (p. 355) : " The analogies between English and Welsh dissent are partial. Dissent in England is sporadic, in Wales endemic, local in England, national in Wales."

This was the handwriting he left on the wall; which, even now, the authorities of the Church of England in Wales are too blind to see, and which, even if they dimly see, only perceive to ridicule or repudiate.

Bishop Owen on "the remarkable progress of the last 30 years."

But now the Bishop of St. David's makes much of what he describes as " the remarkable progress " of the Established Church " throughout Wales " during " *the last thirty years.*" Now, in so far as this has been an increase of spiritual efficiency, and consequent blessing, every man who is interested in the extension of the Kingdom of God in our native land will rejoice. One, moreover, hesitates to discourage an optimistic view of things, or the spirit of gratitude which is ever apt to magnify the mercies received. But when important arguments and great claims are based upon such issues, it is advisable to look facts honestly in the face.

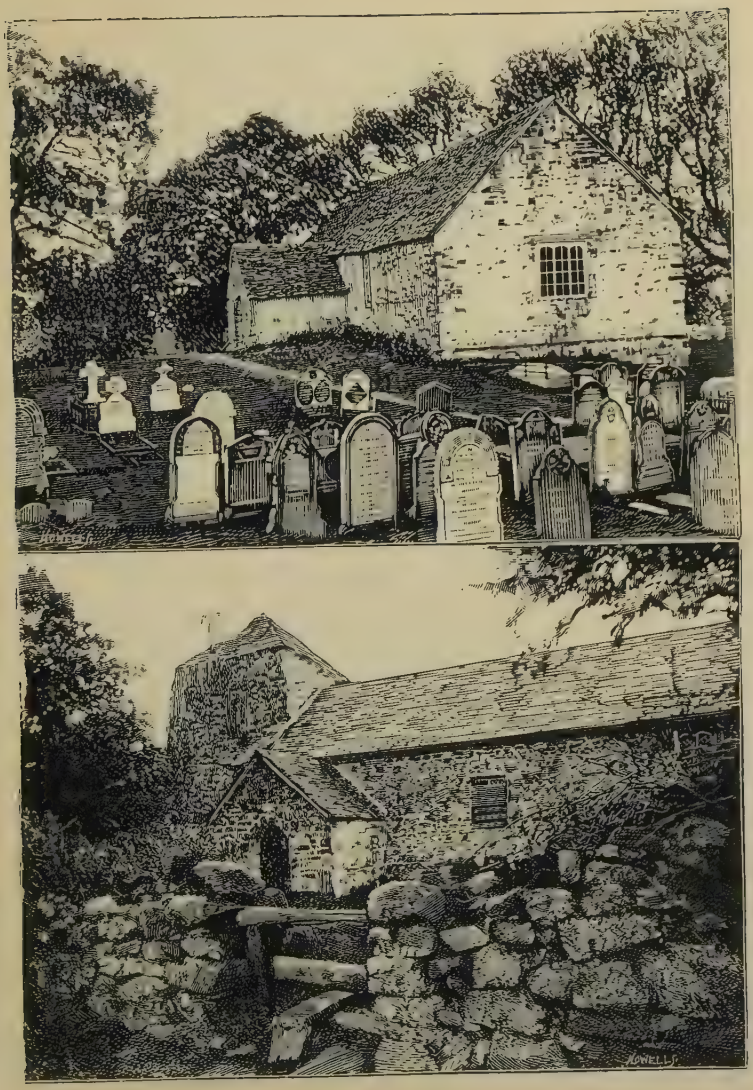
In connection with this flattering view of things, it is necessary that I should remind the Bishop of what occurred sixteen years ago in his present diocese, in connexion with one of the most important spa resorts in Wales, and concerning which I had a casual interview with him on the spot.

In the spring of 1893, the rector of Llandrindod, on his own responsibility, utterly dismantled the old churches of Llandrindod and Cefnllys, where Welsh services had been held

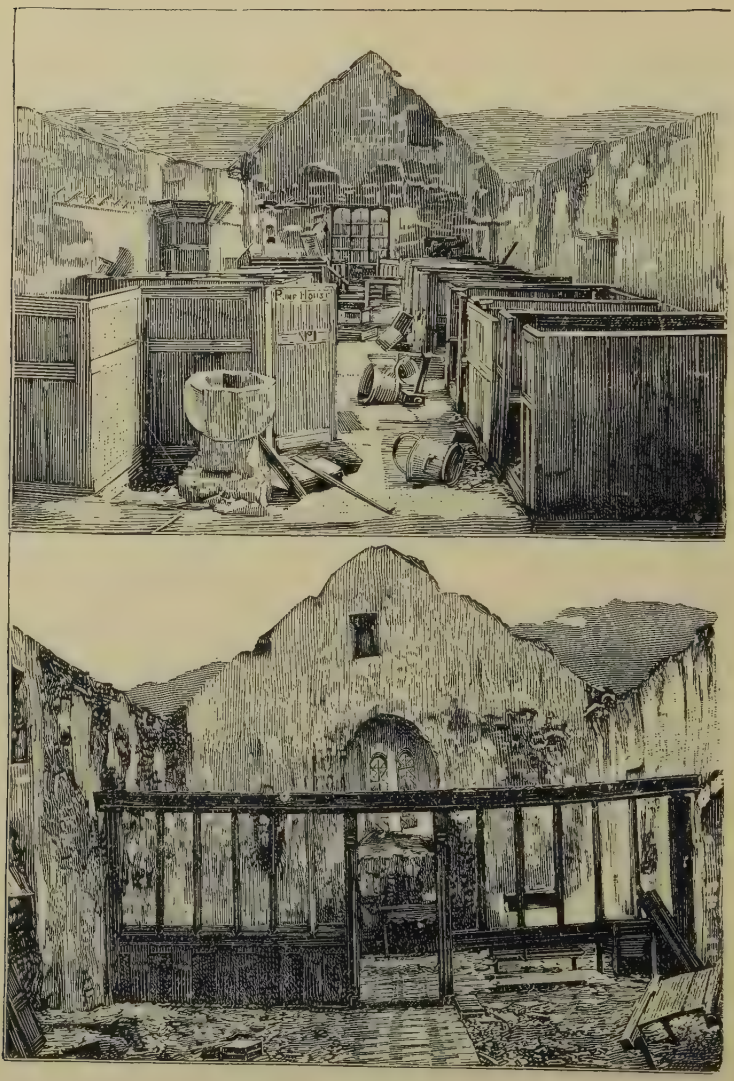
The dismantling of Cefnllys and Llandrindod Churches

for many generations. For some years the rector had found them to be a source of great inconvenience, one being half a mile distant, and the other more than a mile and a half. It had been no uncommon thing for the officiating clergyman to be seen on a Sunday riding along the slope of the hill opposite the latter church, and just in view of it, to see if any of the neighbours were wending their way in that direction, and, if not, turning his horse's head, and hastening home again. But this kind of thing oft repeated would in time wear down the patience of the most placid saint! This, at last, occurred in the case of this rector! Hence he adopted the drastic method referred to, of making it known that no more services would be held in those sanctuaries. This would have the double advantage of saving him endless trouble, and of inducing the whilom worshippers to put in an appearance at the English Church at Llandrindod Wells, next to his palatial rectory, where occasional Welsh services could be held. It was a most commendable economy of labour on his part; but the condition into which the old sanctuaries were reduced to secure this, was even more sacrilegious than a Parliamentary Disestablishment Bill! The ruinous and utterly desolate appearance of these churches, both without and within, was appalling. The Bible, prayer-books, cushions of pulpit and pews, were left in the dismantled and roofless buildings, exposed to the rain and all the elements—the saddest sight imaginable. I published an account of all, together with pictures, of the desolations, which latter I now re-produce. Public opinion demanded that the churches should be restored, and ultimately, I have reason to believe, the Bishop of St. David's, the patron of the livings, ordered the roofs to be replaced and the buildings restored, which was done after two years of ruin and desolation. I do not know whether any reprimand was administered to the rector—certainly not publicly.

Referring to the general question of Church progress, which has occupied our minds for years, I have personally regretted to find the complacent tone in which so often the "successes" of the Established Church in proselytising from other denominations, rather than in additions from without, have been recorded. This, at least is what other denominations no longer boast of, and which, I venture to believe, they increasingly discourage.



The Old Churches of Llandrindod and Cefnllys immediately before the Rector's un-roofiing, or disestablishment process.



The Old Churches of Llandrindod and Cefnllys in fifteen months after the Rector's Visitation.

Now, in connexion with this very boast of secessions, especially on the part of students or ministers from other denominations, does it not occur to the bishops who emphasize this, that there are two sides to the question? Undoubtedly, there are a few who, like the Bishop of St. David's himself, conscientiously turn their backs upon the chapels in which they received their earliest impressions, and in many instances where they became followers of Christ and even preachers of the Gospel, and join the Episcopal Church. There are such instances of men becoming eminently able clergymen, and even prominent dignitaries in the Established Church.

But no one knows better than the bishops that for every one who leaves the Free Churches under such conditions, there are nine who secede from them, because amid the keen competition among the more gifted young men of the nation, who are so largely to be found in the Free Churches, they are left behind, and therefore seek a sphere where there are fewer competitors. The success, financially, of others who have succeeded, has in such cases made a change of views easier and more agreeable. Thus there are many instances of men who have added materially to the efficiency of the ministry in the Church who really had but little, and, in some cases, no chance of succeeding in the Free Church ministry because of the number of abler men entering it.

Again, as the bishops well know, the Church has had the benefit of the services of men who have been gifted, but who, through a moral lapse, have transferred their adherence from the Free Churches to the Established Church, and in many instances have recovered themselves and done useful work in the Church of their adoption. It would be well if the leaders in the Church were to consider how many of their clergy have thus in one way or other been obtained from Nonconformity, and what proportion the Church itself has produced. They will then realize that there is something in the atmosphere of Nonconformity, apart from special training, favourable to producing effective preachers, and that there is something in the atmosphere of the Established Church in Wales—to put it mildly—that is not conducive to that result. I ask, can there be any greater condemnation of any Church than that it is unable to produce its own ministers and leaders?

As a matter of fact, the men who go over, with a very few exceptions, are not really missed by Nonconformists, and as they generally add to the efficiency of the ministry in the Church, it would be only fair for Church dignitaries to give a thought to the indebtedness of the Church to Nonconformity for men who are of value in Church livings, though their secession has not been, as a rule, at the cost of any conscious loss to the denominations who have produced them.

After all, there is surely something to be said for the churches that can produce ministers, not only for themselves, but also for another, which for some reason or other, is not able to produce enough for its own ministry. So that the boast concerning so many clergymen having been got from Nonconformity, does not reflect the credit on the Church in Wales, which, at the first flush, it seems to do.

Again, there is another powerful agency still at work here and there throughout the Principality to suppress Nonconformity, and especially to prevent its expansion. I refer to the persistent refusal of land, at any price, or under any tolerable conditions, by Church landlords for the erection of Nonconformist chapels. It is marvellous that amid these restraints and disabilities in the past the Free Churches of Wales have become the power they are to-day in the land. Their history for the last three hundred years has been one of the brightest chapters in the story of the triumph of the Gospel in the world. It has been the history of an expanding and triumphant life, in spite of all the frowns of landlords, and the petty tyrannies of local magnates.

Social tyrannies have been none the less pronounced and unsparing. In many districts the Nonconformist is still boycotted or ignored even when he cannot be persecuted. The Established Church is bolstered up by "preference" given in endless ways, and often in subtle fashion, to those who can be induced to go to Church, or, at any rate, not to go to chapel. The object devoutly sought is not so much that they should attend the Church as that they should not attend the chapel. If a man attends no religious service, he escapes boycott; it is adherence to the chapel that constitutes the venial sin. Hence the intense interest which Church champions manifest in adding a religious column to the Census

Returns. This would supply them with the welcome opportunity of subjecting servants, employés, and dependents of all kinds to inquisitorial tests, and thus of capturing for purposes of Church statistics all nondescripts, who are Churchmen because they are nothing else, as well as those who are Nonconformists by preference and training, but who, in view of the patronage of the rich few, would find it difficult to withstand the pressure which, in such circumstances, would be brought to bear upon them.

No one conversant with the miserable tactics adopted in Wales on such occasions can listen to the urgent demands of some Church leaders for such wholesale ear-marking without being amazed at the effrontery which makes those demands without a blush or apology.

Proselytising by whist drives and dances

Then, again, speaking generally, we should not forget what methods are too often adopted to secure proselytes. Ignoring for the time being selfish considerations, such as pecuniary and social advantages too frequently presented, we find of late years effective proselytising instruments in "whist drives" and dances under the direction of the clergyman and his co-workers. This has, in a large number of places, become a serious blot on the religious life of the district, a direct incentive to the neglect of religious services, and confessedly a menace to religious observances among the younger and more pleasure-loving section of our Free Churches.

But the question is, whether the Bishop of St. David's and his episcopal brethren are at all aware of the extent to which these prevail. If they are aware of this, then the further question irresistibly presents itself: Is it worth while having a special Church subsidised by the State for the purposes of proselytising from other self-sustaining churches, which, at least, compare favourably with the Established Church for spiritual life and efficiency of service? Above all, is it worth while when the methods adopted to increase the flock are "whist drives" and dances, as substitutes for prayer meetings and Divine services? I ask this with the profoundest seriousness.

Increase by the influx of English, &c.

Again, other circumstances, apart from proselytising, are ignored, which largely account for such increase as there is, and which in no respect affect the attitude of the Welsh people as a

nation towards the Established Church, viz., the influx of English, Irish, and other nationalities, not only into the industrial, but also the agricultural districts. These, to some extent, affect the relative strength of the Free Churches and of the Established Church, but the predominance of the former is so overwhelming that this is barely felt.

The heart of the nation untouched by Church in Wales.

In so far as any are ministered unto by the Established Church we are genuinely grateful; but it is absurd to use this as a proof that the Welsh Established Church is winning the heart of the Welsh nation away from the Free Churches of the land. This is by no means the case, as all acquainted with the rural districts of Wales must know. It only proves at best that the Anglicising or denationalising of the Welsh people is conducive to some prosperity in the Established Church in Wales. Is this one reason why the Established Church systematically discourages Welsh services? Or, to use the words of the late Dean Edwards: Is the Church "waiting for the empty shoes of a dead language" as the only hope of its own survival? It has already looked seven hundred years for that, but all in vain. Surely a hope so long deferred should, while it makes the heart sick, also make the head wise. Yet that hope is cherished to-day in the Church with a persistency worthy of a nobler cause.

The utter apathy of the Church in meeting the needs of the Welsh-speaking population

"Western Mail," Oct. 1, 1889.

After the memorable words of Dean Edwards at Swansea in 1879, a meeting was held under the presidency of Dr. Basil Jones, the then Bishop of St. David's, and, after much discussion and enthusiasm, it was arranged, in imitation of the other denominations in Wales, to bring out "a good, large weekly newspaper." "A general appeal was made to all Welsh dignitaries, to prominent Welsh laymen in general, and to every one who took part in the meeting in particular. But with the exception of the Bishop of Bangor, and a few others, no one responded to it in any generous or substantial manner, and the whole matter fell through." The Bishop of St. David's apparently thought that his presidency at the meeting sufficed, and the then Bishop of St. Asaph shewed an abnormal modesty in the matter, although their dioceses were overwhelmingly Welsh, while Bishop Ollivant of Llandaff, both on the ground of his great age and his nationality, would naturally be in the background. Another striking fact is, that although the

meeting had been duly announced in the programme of the Congress, it was not considered to be of sufficient importance to have a word of reference to it, in the subsequent official report.

Ten years later, in anticipation of the forthcoming Church Congress in Cardiff, in 1889, the Conservative morning daily paper of South Wales, which, moreover, has strong Church sympathies, but withal is distinctly nationalistic, protested against this ecclesiastical blindness, in repudiating the language of the nation, sought to emphasize the madness of it all, and, among other pregnant utterances, gave this solemn prophetic warning : " There may be an awakening to a true state of things some day or other; but it is to be hoped it may not be when it is beyond redemption." This, like a thousand other warnings which have preceded it, was allowed to die away into thin air, with the result that we have to-day an almost utter absence of any commanding preacher or speaker in the Church in Wales, especially in the vernacular, a general scarcity of promising men for the ministry, and a chronic dearth of Welsh preachers. Ibid.

CHAPTER VI.

Present Facts and Considerations.

The Toleration Act marking a new epoch in Welsh religious history.

AS already intimated, the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689 marks a new epoch in the history of Welsh religious life. The translation of the Bible into Welsh, and the different editions of the Scriptures published, together with the diligent labours of the great evangelists of the seventeenth century, had prepared the nation for the full enjoyment of the liberties which came in the train of the Toleration Act. The people longed for the privilege of worshipping God according to their convictions, and had a great thirst for religious instruction. The result was, that when liberty was granted, they hailed the appearance of every book and of every public teacher that would widen their mental and spiritual horizon.

Growth of Welsh Literature.

Hence, co-temporaneous with religious progress has been the growth of Welsh literature. The religion of Wales has saved its language, and created a new literature, which is one of the glories of our land to-day. Poetry and prose have grown side by side for the last two centuries. The greatest poets and prose-writers of the nation during this long period have been pre-eminently its preachers, and, even when the writers have been laymen, the religious element, as a rule, has been predominant in their writings.

The religious sentiment a powerful force in the life of the nation.

In every age the religious instinct has been a powerful force in the life of the nation. We have seen how well Henry II., and others, knew how to appeal to this, and when that King failed to overcome Wales in open and straightforward conflict, how he largely succeeded in gaining his object by giving a false direction to the religious emotions of the Welsh people, by which they would be deprived of their bravest heroes. They were deceived through the channel of their highest aspirations. Man's greatest

defeats have generally been in the direction of his noblest emotions. No instance in the history of nations is more striking of this than the shrewd device of Henry II. in sending Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus Cambrensis on a preaching crusade to Wales to induce the people to sacrifice the flower of the nation in a Crusade to Palestine, and thus cripple itself for ages in its resistance to the oppression of the English Crown and Church. But these very emotions and enthusiasm, when properly directed, have transformed the whole of Wales during the last two centuries. Wales owes its present liberty and enlightenment mainly to its Nonconformist pulpit and literature. Welsh civilization is distinctly a religious one—and that Evangelical and Nonconformist. The Welsh nation cannot forsake Protestant and Evangelical Christianity without becoming untrue to all that is truest and best in the history of its emancipation and subsequent growth and progress.

This appealed to for ulterior ends by Henry II.

Moreover, at no period have the pulpit and religious press of Wales wielded the power they do to-day. Never was the pulpit more thoroughly equipped than now; although still there is much to be desired in that direction; and never were pulpit ministrations more thoroughly supported and emphasized than they are at present by the religious press of Wales.

The pulpit and religious press.

By a still more efficient training in our theological colleges the reputation and efficiency of the Welsh pulpit will be more than maintained, and the vitality and usefulness of our churches be improved; while our religious and theological literature, which, during the last 150 years, has made such rapid strides, and especially during the past generation, in the works of Dr. Lewis Edwards, Principal T. C. Edwards, Mathetes, and many others, promises to-day to gather to itself such strength, and assume such proportions, as will give it a high position in the Christian literature of the world.

Welsh religious Literature: the last 150 years.

This, too, will indirectly affect the more general literature of the nation in more than maintaining the vigour of thought, nobility of sentiment, and purity of diction, which were so characteristic of the productions of the two last generations in the poetic writings of Eben Fardd, Ceiriog, Islwyn, Glasynys, Hiraethog, &c., and in the prose works of Joseph Harris, David Rhys Stephen, Dr. Owen Thomas, Hiraethog, Dr. John Hughes, Dr. John Thomas, and a

General Literature for the same period.

host of others. The works, which during the present generation have been, and are, continually issued from the press, by the ablest thinkers and writers of the nation, reveal a striking development of energy and resource, which augurs well for the future. There is a combination of qualities in the Welsh nature which is yet to be brought to light under the rapidly-changing conditions which the present system of education and training must produce.

The Revival of the Eisteddfod.

Side by side with this astounding creation of a new literature in an incredibly short space of time, and mutually reciprocal with it, should be placed the striking revival and development of the great national institution which practically expired amid the fast waning glories of the Welsh language in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This collapse of the Eisteddfod, with the rapid decay of love of language and country in that degenerate period, is a very instructive fact. It supplies another proof of the fact that the Eisteddfod is an essentially patriotic institution, and that it cannot exist, much less flourish, in any other capacity. It may, possibly, amid the changed conditions of future centuries flourish, even though the Welsh language may be on the wane; but to the measure that it is vigorous will it cling tenaciously to that language; and should the Welsh tongue, through the hostile forces, and disintegrating influences of coming ages, vanish at last, half the life of the Eisteddfod will die with it, while the other half will very largely cherish its memory, fondly recall its great sons, and its thousand inspiring reminiscences and undying traditions, and treasure among the choicest of its possessions the rich heirlooms of a glorious past.

Love of language.

Love of Country.

Closely associated with the love of language is the love of country, which finds still more powerful expression in this unique national institution. It may be admitted that for ages its patriotism has been too narrow and exclusive. But that is a law of every great passion or enthusiasm in its early stages. At first it is always more intense than expansive, and, indeed, the danger of all rapid expansion is that intensity may be lost by it. But the history of the Eisteddfod, during the last generation in particular, is a striking proof of the possibility of maintaining the fervour and intensity of true patriotism, and yet widening the sphere of its operations. As the Christianity of Wales has imparted a new and in-

Christianity vitalizing Literature and the Eisteddfod.

finitely more abundant life to its literature, so has it transformed the institution which has throughout the centuries so largely been the patroness of literature. As years have passed by the themes of poetry, song and prose have become, if not always directly more Christian, at least, decidedly more in harmony with Christian sentiment. As this has become an increasing fact, old prejudices and bigotries of class and kindred have died out.

The old symbolism and ceremonialism, too—in many respects, crude, and, to modern taste, fanciful—are, under the modifying touch of modern art, undergoing such changes as the developing life of this grand institution demands.

The Eisteddfod's power of adaptation.

Indeed, the Eisteddfod's power of adaptation to the new conditions, and increasing demands, of our times, is one of its most hopeful characteristics. Already the range of its subjects has been considerably widened, and art has been recently added to its special developments. To this the Eisteddfod, with the ready expansiveness of true life, has adapted itself with the greatest ease. This is but a faint prediction of what is yet possible. Nothing pertaining to the highest culture of the nation should be outside the pale of eisteddfodic competition. The Eisteddfod is the true Welsh Olympus, where the best minds and finest producers of each age enter into friendly and healthful competitions—competitions in which they are *utterly unmindful of all other distinctions!* It is capable of infinite expansion; "the spirit of the living thing" is in it; and all that is required is that at the head of it, developing its life, widening its scope, and directing its energies, there shall be men that have "understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do." In it we have a rich heritage from the past, and a commensurate responsibility to hand it down to our descendants a richer and diviner thing for having passed through our hands.

The "Western Mail," April 16th, 1910.

But one able reviewer, to whom I have already referred, mistaking the purport of the above with reference to the Eisteddfod, in my first edition, says: "Mr. Davies, in his panegyric on the 'Welsh Olympus,' to wit, the Eisteddfod, shuts his eyes to the fact that the clergy of the Established Church yielded to none in their efforts on behalf of this national movement, until unsympathetic prelates frowned upon literary enterprise and chilled their enthusiasm." It will be seen that in the passage referred to there is

no comparison whatever made between the relative merits of the Established Church and Nonconformity—on the contrary a statement made that competitors "were utterly unmindful of all other distinctions." Now, however, that I am challenged, I would point out that my critic gives away the whole case. All will readily admit that until bishops intervened, the Welsh clergy were in many instances ardent Eisteddfodwyr. But they did intervene as my critic admits. This was a part of their Anglicising policy, and proves my case.

A brief review of the cruel treatment which Welsh clergymen of nationalistic and literary tastes have received from Church dignitaries and patrons, will be instructive, though exceedingly sad.

The Welsh clergy of the West Riding of Yorkshire refer very fully in their Report for 1856 to the sad story of the persistent opposition on the part of Church dignitaries to the cultivation of Welsh literature, and the encouragement of national aspirations in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteen centuries. Briefly stated, they refer to glaring instances of a systematic boycott of Welsh scholarship and patriotism. Referring to the three Morrises, the distinguished Welsh scholars—three brothers—the eldest of whom, Lewis, was born in 1702, they quote concerning him the words of Lewis Morris, the poet, a descendant: "It was during the life of this patriotic man that the English bishops in Wales entered into a conspiracy against the Welsh language, and commenced active measures for its extinction."

Four striking cases.

They then refer to some of the distinguished men who, during a century and a half, were penalized for their love of country, people, and mother tongue. The following are brief summaries:—

1. The Rev. Moses Williams, the distinguished Welsh scholar and antiquarian, who edited and carried through the press an octavo edition of the Welsh Bible in 1717, was denounced by Anglo-Welsh bishops, and even preached against at their visitations, when it was contended that he kept alive the Welsh language, which should be sent to oblivion as soon as possible. The gentry, as the result, boycotted him; he left for Bridgwater, "where he laboured incessantly to improve the literature of his country. He died of a broken heart."

2. The Rev. John Dyer, that is, the Poet Dyer (the author of "Grongar Hill"), born at Aberglasney, Carmarthenshire, in 1700, is another instance of a Welsh nationalist and poet of high merit, who longed for Wales, but was kept in England, first at Calthorpe, Leicester, at £80 a year, then at Belshford, Lincoln, at £75, and in 1755 received from the Lord Chancellor Kirkby-upon-Brain (£110) in addition. But the Fenny district proving injurious to his health, he returned to Wales, only to find all openings rigidly closed against him by Church dignitaries and patrons.

3. Rev. Isaac Jones, Brynsiencyn, Anglesey, born 1804, at Llanychaiarn, Cardigan. He was the author of a Welsh Grammar, Welsh Encyclopædia, Translation of Gurney's Dictionary; part Translation of Matthew Henry's Commentary, and Translation of Adam Clarke on New Testament and Old Testament as far as Leviticus, when he died at 47. "His lot, therefore, was to live in obscurity—unheeded, unrewarded—and to die a victim of episcopal neglect, while "clergy around him received accumulated favours from the bishop."

4. Rev. Evan Evans (Ieuan Glan Geirionydd), born at Trefriw, Carnarvonshire. He obtained small curacies in succession: in 1843 he became perpetual curate of Ince, Cheshire, and then retired to his native village. In 1854 he became perpetual curate at Rhyl, where he died January, 1855. His poem, "Belshazzar," won the bardic chair of Gwynedd, at Denbigh, and again he obtained a bardic chair for a poem on "The Resurrection," at Rhuddlan Castle, in 1850, in the presence of his bishop, Dr. Short. He edited the "Gwladgarwr" with rare ability, assisted in translating Dr. Kitto's Pictorial Bible into Welsh. This great man was snubbed by his bishop, ignored by Church patrons, and allowed to droop and die in obscure and ill-paid curacies. The bard "Talhaiarn," having commented upon a curt and insulting letter which the bishop was reported to have sent Mr. Evans, exclaimed: "Ah, gentle Ieuan, rest in peace, and the soft murmurs of the summer breeze, pure and gentle as thy own soul, be wafted over Glyn Geirionydd to wail musically over thy grave. No more will the rude storms of life disturb thy peaceful slumbers! The cold shadow of the Church, and its bitter, biting east wind, will never again blight the bright bloom of thy genius. Sleep on, gentle Ieuan!"

Much more might be said on this subject, and still more modern instances could be cited. There is scarcely a clergyman who has shewn exceptional fondness for Welsh literature and has excelled as a Welsh writer or speaker, who has not been consigned to obscurity, while men appointed to Welsh parishes who have not known the language of the people have been the recipients of rich preferments. And even since bishops have been chosen for Welsh dioceses because they are Welshmen—and not in every case because they excelled even among the meagre selection which a Church, depleted and devitalized through the persistent Anglicising policy, can supply—this antipathy to Welsh sentiment has not yet died out of some dioceses, notably that of St. Asaph. The upheaval among the clergy, only ten years ago, to which we have referred elsewhere, is an abundant proof of that.

Recent advance in education.

Another marvellous advance of the century has been in the education of the Welsh people. The days of the one-eyed, one-armed, wooden-legged schoolmaster, who, having lost one-half of his mortal frame on the field of Waterloo, devoted the other half to the education of the rising race, passed away from the scene with the third or fourth decades of the last century. After him came the mysterious personage—a sort of compromise between a broken-down curate and a retired tailor—who put in an appearance in the village as a man of great learning; but whose early history was wrapped in impenetrable mystery. He usually wore broad-cloth, the remnant of former greatness—that is either of his own, or of a previous wearer—but whose nap had been reduced to a minimum, especially at the knees and elbows, which assumed a perennial gloss, suggestive of an imminent projection. The wise-acres of the village assured their neighbours that he had seen better days, and might indeed be still traced in his dignified tread, his learned philosophical stoop, and the air of conscious sovereignty and superiority which he assumed. They confidentially added that there was no one in the kingdom more learned than this august stranger, to whom the uneducated swains entrusted the writing of their love-letters, and parents implicity confided the training of their children. He rendered valuable service; but with him passed away the "Welsh Note," the "Dunce's Cap," and many other concomitants of a stern and primitive dictatorship. Then came the British Schools, built here and

The disappearance of the old types of Schoolmasters.

The "Welsh Note" and Dunce's Cap.

there throughout the land by educational enthusiasts, as a protest against the so-called National Schools which were used unscrupulously as a huge proselytizing agency by Church managers and wire-pullers. Then came the Board Schools with their broad, undenominational basis, which, alas! is temporarily undermined by the Education Act of 1902. These have been supplemented by the Intermediate Schools, which have spanned over the gulf between them and our University Colleges. Thus the system of education in Wales, after centuries of delay, is now a complete entity. There is no missing link between the home of the peasant and the highest position in the University of our land.

The past and present obstacles in the way of the Welsh language.

The Welsh language, moreover, is no longer a hindrance to advancement. It is now a recognised subject for diligent study and eager competition in our schools and colleges. Hence, our mother tongue has, at last, secured for itself a position in our national education, which it has never hitherto occupied. The result of all this should be a more universal acquaintance with it than has existed for many centuries. It will be the fault of the parents and teachers of Wales if the Welsh language henceforth will be a neglected tongue, or, if it fails to become a literary speech of the highest order. The vitality of the Welsh language has been astounding. It has undergone and survived severe tests throughout the ages, and it will still have a stern battle to fight in the face of our growing relationship—political, commercial, and otherwise—with the English people. Some of the most promising sons and daughters of Wales remove to England and others parts of the world; while those who remain find that a knowledge of the English language is essential to commercial success or professional advancement. There is no reason, however, why the rising generations, even in Anglicised centres, should not be duoglot Welshmen and Welshwomen, and why Welsh should not long continue to be the language of the home, of the sanctuary, and especially in agricultural districts, of daily familiar intercourse between every Welshman and his neighbour. The Welsh language is a national asset both religiously and socially, which can hardly be overestimated.

Its marvellous vitality.

The Welsh language a national asset, religiously and socially.

As long as Welsh literature continues to improve in quality, and increase in quantity, as it has done during the past 50 years,

Welsh Literature still making rapid strides.

and as long as the Gospel is preached in Welsh with growing efficiency to an increasing number of hearers, the old language cannot die. It is, beyond all doubt, pre-eminently adapted to be a vehicle of religious thought and emotion, as all those who have become tolerably acquainted with both languages have often discovered. There seems, after all, to be a sublime relationship between the first two phrases of the old Welsh prophecy: "Their Lord they shall praise; their speech they shall keep." The Welsh language owes much of its life to the praises of the sanctuary!

The discovery of minerals productive of industry and sense of independency.

Another important feature in the progress of Wales has been the discovery of minerals, and the consequent establishment, especially in Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire, of great industrial centres. The Welsh people in the olden days fled to the mountains for shelter, and among these natural bulwarks held their own for centuries. Neither they, nor the invading foe, had any conception of the priceless treasures that lay buried in these rugged coffers, until the keenness of human observation, and the needs of an ever-increasing population, made the discovery of them possible and necessary. All, this, together with growing knowledge, gave men broader conceptions, and fired them with new ambitions. The Welsh people have thus, as well as through the thrift and industry of many generations of toiling agriculturalists, ceased to be the penniless and oppressed race they once were. Wealth, in certain districts, has brought with it conscious power, while skill and industry have begotten a spirit of independency. A nation that has thus wrought its own deliverance from ignorance and superstitious darkness, into knowledge and religious light; and, moreover, found out the treasures that lay hid in its mountains, making the discovery an opportunity for the disclosures of a skill and enterprise which had hitherto lain dormant, is naturally inspired with the hope of new possibilities, and asks for a fair field, and no favour, for the exercise of its gifts and capacities in its future struggles.

The thrice-repeated extension of the franchise.

The old patriotic fervour has become more operative. The thrice-repeated extension of the franchise has done more for Wales, perhaps, than any other part of the United Kingdom. Until the last extension but one a large proportion of the most intelligent men in the agricultural districts of Wales were without a Parliamentary vote for their county.

Happily, however, the day has for ever gone when a Welshman dare not call his soul his own. The manhood that was in imminent danger of being sapped out of a people, who had but few recognised rights, is now re-asserting itself. The Welsh nation of to-day supplies a modern illustration of a vision which Milton saw more than two centures ago, and even a more striking illustration than his age in England supplied: "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam."

Milton's picture of the English people true of Wales to-day ("Areopagitica")

The present age is one of great transition in Wales. The heart of the nation has been stirred, its conceptions enlarged, and its courage emboldened. It now demands its birthright of liberty. The nation is not only not ashamed of its own language and its distinctive characteristics, as it was in the seventeenth century; but it glories in them. Welshmen now thoroughly believe in the great possibilities that open up before them; and this is the first essential of fitness for a great mission.

This an age of great transition.

A new political era began in Wales about sixty years ago To-day there is a wider diffusion of political knowledge, and a consequent increased interest in politics. But this national interest in politics began, and is intensified as the years pass by, through an increasing consciousness on the part of a nation of Free Churchmen of the wrong inflicted upon them by the continuance of a church among them bolstered up by Act of Parliament, and upheld by emoluments to which it has no rightful claim. The English Government that fails to realize this, is born blind, in so far as the profoundest convictions and the most resolute will of the Welsh nation are concerned.

A new political era.

CHAPTER VII.

Conclusion.

The spirit of the Celtic Church lives in the Nonconformity of to-day.

THE present Church in Wales is in no respect the Ancient Welsh Church or its legitimate successor. That Church, with all the energies it possessed, repudiated alike the assumptions of Rome and Canterbury, and the interference in ecclesiastical matters of the English Kings and Parliaments. That Church claimed independence of Canterbury and Westminster. It repudiated diocesan episcopacy, and knew nothing of parochial clergy, or tithe rents. It was based upon the tribal system. Its clergy, therefore, as is proved by their final reply to Augustine, only acted in consultation with their people. The Celtic Church, in its spirit, lives to-day in the Nonconformity of Wales, and only in its emoluments in the Established Church. The Welsh nation has never believed in a State Established Episcopal Church, and, judging from all appearances, it never will. The Nonconformity of Wales is a reversion to type. It is the original type of Christianity as first of all established in our beloved country. The Church of England is essentially different. In this opinion I am sustained by the best historians—who are themselves Churchmen.

No continuity between the British and English Churches.

Dean Hook's "Church Dictionary"—Church of England. ed. 1896

Dean Hook, in his Church Dictionary, under "Church of England," says that "its origin dates from the mission of Augustine," and adds: "Since Augustine, and his followers, did not enter into any alliance with the Britons for the conversion of the English, it cannot be said that there was any continuity of life between the old British and the English Church" (p. 19). Dr. Bright (a Churchman), too, in referring to the Conversion of the English, says (in his "Early English Church History," pp. 443, 444): "That conversion, it is obvious to remark, involves the formation of a new 'Church of the English,' not the development or the ex-

tension of the 'ancient British Church.' The English Church did not grow out of the British." . . . It is necessary to state this in plain words, because of the inaccurate language which has often obscured facts, under the influence, perhaps, of a strong preconception, controversial or 'patriotic.' And these facts, for history's sake must be kept distinctly in view." Bishop Browne also says: "*The British Church had nothing whatever to do with the conversion of England, or of the English; nothing to do with the origin or early work of the Church of England.*"

"Early English Church History," by Dr. Bright, pp. 443, 444, 2nd ed. 1888

Bishop Browne's "Conversion of the Heptarchy" p. 181.

In confirmation of this, I note that Dr. Freeman (in referring to Haddan's "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents," in the "Fortnightly Review" for September, 1871, pp. 329 & 330) is equally explicit: "Not one word will be found in this volume to flatter the dream of an early British Church from which the existing Christianity of England is derived. We see a British Church, and we see an English Church; *but they stand to one another in no relation of identity, or even of parentage*; the relations between the two churches are the shadow which inevitably follows the relations between the two nations. The tale is a tale of conquest; of conquest which puts on a milder shape as it goes on, but which is still conquest from beginning to end. There is not a word to shew that a single soul among the heathen conquerors was won to the faith by the conquered Christians. *Between British and English Christianity there is absolutely no continuity.* British Christianity is first displaced by English heathendom, and it is then conquered by the Christianity which England learned from Rome."

"The Fortnightly Review," Sept., 1871, pp. 329, 330.

The Rev. W. Hunt also writes: "The British Church . . had no share in the foundation or development of the English Church"; and again, "The British Church contributed nothing to the evangelization of the English people, the Church of England is neither its successor nor in any degree its heir."

"The English Church from its foundation to the Norman Conquest." By W. Hunt, M.A. pp. 38, 74. Ed. 1899.

That being so with regard to the Established Church in England, what about the Established Church in Wales to-day?

Mr. Willis Bund, Churchman and Conservative, as he is, but who is, primarily, an honest and unbiassed Church historian, will tell us: "Whatever may be the case in England, the system now existing in Wales only dates from the accession of Elizabeth,

Property of Celtic Church given to a new body.

J. W. Willis Bund's "Celtic Church of Wales," pp. 513-515

some three and a half centuries. . . . It is impossible, if history is regarded, to escape from the position that either the Reformation was a return to the old ecclesiastical system that prevailed in this country, or that it was the introduction of a new one. It will be conceded by every one that *it was not a return to the old Celtic Church . . . but the setting up of a new system. To that system was transferred all the property and privileges of the displaced Church, which were taken from it, and given to the new body.* In England it was different : there the Reformation was a return to the Christianity introduced by Augustine and Theodore; but that Christianity had never obtained in Wales. There a different system existed; that was partly displaced by the Latin Christianity enforced by the Normans and Plantagenets; but this was overthrown at the Reformation, and there was no return to the old system; but a new one, the Anglican, was introduced and established by law. . . . *If the present Welsh Church falls, it will not be the Church of David and Teilo, but of Elizabeth and Laud.*'

Bishop of St. David's (then Dean of St. Asaph) at Church Congress, Cardiff, 1889

Side by side with these specific and authoritative pronouncements, by the great modern historians of the Established Church, it is sorry work to read the oracular, but preposterous utterances of the Bishop of St. David's, then Dean of St. Asaph, at the Church Congress at Cardiff in 1889: "It shows an absurd forgetfulness of history to call *the mother church of Britain alien in Wales.* . . . We cannot induce our opponents to study the early history of the *Celtic Church, and her initial part in Christianizing England*," &c. Is it credible that a gentleman, who, I think, deservedly, has been promoted to the highest dignity of the Church in Wales, can, in one breath, join in the parrot cry about the Church in Wales being no church at all, but "only four dioceses in the province of Canterbury," and with the next in "high falutin" style expatiate on the absurdity of calling "alien in Wales," "the mother church of Britain," or "The Celtic Church" who "did her initial part in Christianizing England." Apart from the inconsistency of the two cries, from where does the Bishop get his history? In the above crude statements—as will be seen from the extracts we have given from recognized authorities—he betrays either an apparently incredible ignorance of the history of the Celtic and English Church, or, what is still less credible, he in-

dulges in a deliberate perversion of facts. Yet, these glaring contradictions, and gross misrepresentations of well-established historical facts, are just the things that are voraciously consumed from year to year at English Church Congresses, repeated endlessly at Church Defence meetings and elections, and secure for those who have sufficient audacity or ignorance to perpetrate them, the devout gratitude and admiring homage of those who are content with having their church thus defended!

Undoubtedly the old British Church, as it existed in England before the Saxon invasion, according to Dr. Freeman, and others, no longer exists. But where is the Ancient Celtic Church of Wales to-day? We have seen that the late Archbishop of Canterbury called the present "Church in Wales" as only "four dioceses in the province of Canterbury." Of course, it suited the Archbishop in urging that there could be no Disestablishment of the Welsh Church without the Disestablishment of the English Church to adopt that phrase, and it has been convenient for Welsh Bishops to repeat it. It also suited the late Dean of Llandaff to say that, "before the Welsh Church can be disestablished, the Welsh Church must be created." But in avoiding Scylla, they are stranded on Charybdis. We have seen that the Church of England is in "no relation of identity" with the ancient British Church of England. Now we hear from archbishop and dean, amid the plaudits of a Church Congress, and the enthusiastic approval of Welsh bishops, that the Church in Wales is *no Church at all*, but only so many dioceses of an English province. Then where is the Ancient Celtic Church of Wales? It is admittedly non-existent so far as the Established Church in both England and Wales is concerned.

But the enforced submission of the Church in Wales to Canterbury by the Normans, and consummated by the Tudors, is precisely that upon which Canterbury bases its supremacy to-day. The Reformation gave a temporal head to the Church, repudiating the Pope for Henry, and then Popery for Protestantism. How far a church can have a new headship, and radically change its doctrines and ceremonials, and remain the same church in character and life is a problem. I am well aware of the technical contention that in the Reformation "nothing happened to disturb the

The Celtic Church non-existent.

legal continuity of any ecclesiastical corporation, except those which were suppressed altogether"; and that in spite of the fact that changes were made in the headship, the doctrine, the discipline, and the ritual of the Church, yet, as the corporations which remain were not suppressed by the changes, it is legally continuous with that which preceded it, although essentially different in character. According to the same process of reasoning, if Buddhism had taken the place of Christianity in the Reformation, provided the corporations of the Church were not suppressed by law, the Church would still maintain a legal continuity with the Church before the Reformation. This however, as Dr. Freeman is careful to tell us, is merely "dealing with a dry matter of fact and of law," without "wishing in any way to undervalue the greatness either of the direct theological change, or of the indirect changes of all kinds which followed on the long series of events known as the English Reformation. In a general view of history," he adds, "those changes cannot be rated too highly." Therefore, surely, in dealing with the merits of a Church which, to have any meaning as a national Church, is to express the religious creed and sentiment of the nation, questions of headship, theology, ritual and practice are of primary importance in considering its identity of life and character with what preceded it. No one can say that in that sense the Church after the Reformation was identical with the Church before the Reformation.

This, however, is a question which does not concern us just now. We have only to deal with the ancient Welsh Church, which, as we have seen, is essentially different in its characteristics, history, and associations from the English, and has only been brought into the relentless grip of the latter, and deprived of its entity, by cunning, oppression, priestcraft, and the force of arms. We have, moreover, to face this fact, that notwithstanding all the change of creed, polity, practice, and proprietorship, the property and the privileges which had already been wrested from the Old Celtic Church still remained, and were in the process of events, transferred from the Latin Church, which had stolen and appropriated them, to the Protestant Church, that now received the plunder! All the while the Ancient Celtic Church, crushed and destroyed, was *non-existent.*

The Church of England to-day, and consequently the "four dioceses" in Wales, base their claim to the emoluments of the Celtic Church, precisely on that of the Latin Church before the Reformation. That is about the only thing the Latin and English Churches have had in common; but to that the English Church in England and Wales clings tenaciously to-day. Now if the title of the Latin Church was not good, this cannot be. If, therefore, as we have abundantly proved, the submission of the Ancient Celtic Church of Wales to the Latin Church and Canterbury was brought about by relentless oppression, cruel wrong, and ultimate absorption by force, thus depriving it of its existence as a Church, and transferring its possessions to a new and alien body, the present claim of the English Church in Wales, being based upon the same title of suppression, and plunder, is utterly unjust and even repugnant.

The "four dioceses of the province of Canterbury," according to the late Archbishop, or that ecclesiastical garrison of the Established Church of England in Wales, as Welshmen view it, has all along been true to its origin and traditions. In former days, as Archdeacon Pryce tells us: "The bishops in Wales were a hostile garrison, bound to the English Crown by ties of gratitude for the past, and of common hatred towards the native Welsh." That has materially altered; but the Church is still very largely out of sympathy with our great national movements and aspirations. It is anti-Welsh in its sentiment, as we have proved, and it is utterly out of touch with the faith and hope of the Welsh people. Yet it possesses the emoluments which once belonged to the different tribes of the nation, each tribe providing for itself its religious privileges, and meeting its consequent responsibilities, and all unitedly seeking to purify the life of the nation. Against this anomaly the heart of the nation recoils today, and the spirit of a people almost entirely evangelised by its own efforts—yea, by the men, in the first place, who were *excommunicated from the Church*—revolts against the injustice of having that Church bolstered up by temporal power, and chiefly maintained by ancient emoluments belonging to a Church long since defunct.

We are not here discussing the right of Parliament, and the

justice or injustice of its exercising that right, to disestablish the Church in England. In touching this question, however, I maintain unhesitatingly the technical right of the State to do anything that it conceives to be to the interest of the community. It would not in that case be even necessary to contend that the property of the Church is "national property." We should be satisfied with maintaining that the State has a right to deal with the property of the Churches of the Establishment in their corporate capacity, at least, as much as it has with the property of any other corporation, even apart from the fact that much of that property has been got by oppression and preferential treatment by the State. When any institution or corporate body ceases to fulfil the conditions of its trust, or the monopoly it has enjoyed, it is not only the right, but the duty, of the State to step in and put a stop to that anomalous state of things, and "confiscate"* the funds of that obsolete institution and use them for purposes which are most conducive to the interests of the nation, and, as far as practicable, in harmony with the original purposes for which they were obtained.

See "Hooker's Eccles. Pol." vol. iii., p. 420

Freeman's "Disestablishment and Disendowment," p. 40,

Now, it is maintained by Dr. Freeman, who adopts the theory of Hooker and others, that the Church is "Established" because "it is a religious body which once was co-extensive with the nation. . . . In early times," he adds "the Church was simply the nation looked at with reference to religion; just as the army was the nation looked at with reference to warfare." Dr. Freeman adds: "Because it was the nation in one of its aspects, the ministers of the Church were national officers for one set of purposes, enjoying the rights . . . of national officers." In other words, the Church, like the army, was a Government Department. It is a conclusion to which Nonconformists need not

* This word "confiscate" is now used as if it meant something very terrible. Mr. Disraeli in the exigencies of a debate seems to have been the first to attach a discreditable meaning to this word. Dr. Freeman, having referred to Mr. Disraeli's misuse of the word "confiscation," says—"'Confiscation' is vulgarly used to mean 'robbery.' . . . But the word has a meaning of its own. . . . Confiscation is an Act of the State, and of the State only. It is the taking of property by the State. . . . When a magistrate inflicts a fine, he does an act of confiscation. So, when a man's land is taken from him by Act of Parliament, because it is wanted for a Railway, his land is confiscated. . . . The Compensation may be one which he thinks quite inadequate. It is plain that the power which takes away the land, and gives Compensation, might also, if it chose, take away the land without giving any Compensation. The land is equally taken, equally confiscated, in either case. It is simply a feeling of natural justice which orders that, when it is taken, the owner shall have something given him instead.'"—"Disestablishment and Disendowment, What are they?" By E. A. Freeman. D.C.L., Ll.D., p. 8, 1874.

object. That being so, the State has not only the right to deal with it as it has with any other corporation or group of corporations, but also as one of the departments of State. That pre-eminently becomes not only a right, but a duty, when such a department no longer fulfils the original or necessary conditions of its existence. That the Established Church, even in England, is no longer "co-extensive with the nation," or, in other words, "strictly the nation," no one in the possession of his faculties would for a moment claim. Then it has no longer the right to claim preferential treatment as if it were. It has forfeited the position and the claim alike.

This was evidently felt when it realized that it was losing its national character. Dr. Freeman tells us quite rightly: "It was not till the sixteenth century that the consequences of differences in religion between men of the same nation became the great question of the time. Then, at last, the fact that men might differ in religion fairly stared men in the face. But even then men still for a long time held that the Church and the nation ought to be one, that dissent in religion was a thing to be put down by law as much as sedition in politics. . . . It was held to be the duty of the civil power in each State to prescribe its own religion to its subjects. It was, of course, the duty of every Government to prescribe only the true religion. . . . Roman, Anglican, Puritan, all alike held it to be their duty, whenever they had the power, to establish their own system by law to the exclusion of all others. And this is beyond doubt," Dr. Freeman adds, "the original meaning of the Church being by law Established." . . . It was Established just as Government by Kings, Lords, and Commons was established. . . . The Establishment has grown up like everything else. It has come to be what it is through the circumstances of our history. Like everything else subject to law. The supreme power, on good cause being shewn, may legislate about it in any way, as it has often legislated already." Ibid, p. 45

But Lord Hugh Cecil, at the Church Congress at Swansea, last October (1909) said: "Establishment was a relation between Church and State, therefore, Welsh Disestablishment was an absurdity, because there was neither a Welsh Church, nor a Welsh State (hear, hear, and loud laughter). A nationality had nothing to do with

an Establishment. The relation of an Establishment was the relation between an organized State and a Church." One wonders how many Welshmen joined in that "loud laughter." Apart from the arrogant tone of an English aristocrat in that utterance, it was convenient for Lord Cecil to say this in Wales, as he could see clearly that here, as he said, "nationality had nothing to do with" the Establishment called the Welsh Church, and persisted in having nothing to do with it. It is only by denying that a nation has anything to do with an Establishment that he could get on at Swansea. Thus an Established Church, according to his theory, should never be called a "*National* Church," but only a "*State* Church." He, moreover, admitted that the Church could only be a "State Church" in Wales in so far as the State was England! It was only by affirming that "there was neither a Welsh Church nor a Welsh State" that he could account for such an anomaly as that which is called by other Churchmen, "The Welsh Church." In other words, it was only by denying its existence that he managed to justify it. Such methods of argument may be worthy of the Cecils, but not of a religious community that is supposed, as a matter of right and justice to be the representative of what was unmistakably at one time the Welsh Church. The admission, however, on his part that the "Welsh Church" is *non est* is significant. But he cannot blow both hot and cold. There being no Welsh National Church, or even State Church, the Welsh nation protests against the emoluments of their ancient Church being appropriated by "four dioceses of an English Province," and nothing more!

Lord Hugh Cecil at Church Congress at Swansea, Oct., 1909

But at the Barrow Church Congress, in 1906, the Bishop of St. David's said: "The distinctive essence of Disestablishment was the withdrawal of the nation from its historic form of national profession of religion, without the substitution of any other form in its place." Thus, the Bishop and Lord Cecil defend the same Welsh Church—one by saying that it is the *nation's* "*historic form* of national profession of religion," and the other that it is *not the Church of the nation* at all, and that our nationality has nothing whatever to do with it! Lord Hugh objected to the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church because there is no such thing existing as the Welsh Church, and if there were, Welsh nationality would have nothing to do with it,

Bishop Owen at Church Congress at Barrow, Oct., 1906

but only the State; whereas Bishop Owen opposed it because the distinctive essence of Disestablishment was "the withdrawal of the *nation* from its historic form of national profession of religion," and, therefore, "Welsh Disestablishment most directly affected the welfare of the nation." One defends the Welsh Church because it has *nothing* to do with nationality, and the other defends it because it has *everything* to do with nationality; and between these props—or rather in these paradoxical shafts—the poor Welsh Church is balanced and upheld on its feet! "*Boed rhyngoch, wyr Pentyrch!*"

I give these and other specimens of arguments used at Church Congresses by selected speakers against Disestablishment, as illustrations of the kind of pabulum that is liberally ladled out to the faithful at those august assemblies when the position of the Church in Wales has to be considered. But, as we have seen, Bishop Owen, at other times, amid the emergencies of an untenable position, admits that there is no Welsh Church, but "only four dioceses of the province of Canterbury." That being so, these four dioceses are clearly not the "nation's historic form of national profession of religion," but the "other form, substituted, in its place." It is that "substitute" for the Ancient Celtic Church, with which it has positively nothing in common in polity, and but little in creed, to which the nation objects and will tolerate no longer.

But the Bishop proceeded: "The dismemberment of the Church was an issue which directly affected, to repeat the words of Bishop Stubbs, 'the very vitality of the Church as an institution.*'" Will either of the Bishops tell us in what sense the "vitality" of the Welsh Church was enhanced when, as the result of a strenuous and prolonged, but fruitless, struggle for existence, it was, as Dr. Bright tersely expresses it, "absorbed" into" the greater body, so that, as we are constantly reminded, it has since then had no separate existence. Or, if by "the vitality of the Church" is meant the vitality of the English Church, which gulped down the Welsh, will they tell us—even presuming that the English Church was vitalized somewhat by the forcible inclusion into its capacious system of the poor victim that it never had any right, save that

*When Bishop Stubbs deals with historical documents, all will accord him a foremost position among Church historians; but, as a special pleader for the Church of which he is a bishop, he occupies just the position of a special pleader, and no more.—D.D.

of might, to appropriate—by what law in heaven or earth it is the duty of the Welsh nation to let it fatten upon that ill-gained prey?

In all this the whole history of the unholy transaction by which the subjection and absorption of the Celtic Church came about is ignored—and ignored by a modern successor of the very bishops who fought to the death against the tyranny of the oppressing Church. When the Bishop of St. David's talks further of "the repugnance of Welsh and English Churchmen to any form of dismemberment . . . . which," he adds, "could not be justified by an appeal to history," is it possible that he is ignorant of the cruel dismemberment that took place when the Welsh Church was crushed out of existence by the tyranny of the English King and Archbishop? Moreover, it should be clearly remembered, and distinctly stated that whatever dismemberment the separation of the "four dioceses" from Canterbury may mean, it does not mean the dismemberment of the Celtic Church, but of the substitute which has appropriated its emoluments, though it has positively no continuity of life or identity of polity, but only the prerogative of an extorted possession. Will Bishop Owen tell us whether the repugnance of Welsh Churchmen was even noted, much less respected, by the State when the Welsh Church, after the battering of centuries, was dismembered and disembowelled by Edward I. and Archbishop Peckham? And when he further talks about the "opportunist policy of dismemberment" by Disestablishment, will he favour us by comparing this with the deadly policy, which is reprehended by all the array of historians (of his own Church), as one of the most unscrupulous and ruthless opportunisms in all history—an opportunism that positively stopped short at nothing in accomplishing its ends, which it ultimately secured by the ruthless destruction of the Church of the Cymry! It is difficult to maintain one's patience at such a reckless assertion, which, in the face of the now well known facts of history, is as recreant to the best traditions of the Celtic Church, as it is fallacious in itself.

Then comes the Dean of Canterbury (Dr. Henry Wace), at the Swansea Church Congress. In spite of all the facts relating to the destruction of the Welsh Church by a combination of political and ecclesiastical tyranny, he, to one's amazement, repeated words which, as they stand, convey an utterly false impression, "In

course of time those old Welsh dioceses combined with the English Churches and formed that one Church of England and Wales." Then he added: "The proposal to disestablish the Church in Wales was a monstrosity . . . a monstrosity was, that which was unnatural, and it was contrary to the law of the Church of Christ that a political body should attempt to dismember it." Will the Dean point to a greater "monstrosity" than the very union of which he speaks, in the causes which brought it about, and the way in which it was completed? Will he also be kind enough to specify by what "law of the Church of Christ" *that* "monstrosity" was brought about? It is passing strange that anyone can be acquainted with the wicked plots, conspiracies, cruel oppression and ruthless plunder, by which the Church of England, aided by English Kings, gained its supremacy and possession of a rival Church and its emoluments, and talk without a blush about the "monstrosity" of remedying the crying evil, by making her vacate a position which she has only taken and held by force and false pretences!

Dean Wace at Church Congress at Swansea, Oct., 1909.

Again, the Bishop of Carlisle, at the same Congress, asked: "Why should this branch be disestablished, denationalized?" Why that is precisely what was done when the English Church took possession of the Welsh Church, and substituted an alien church for the national one—a church which was substituted out of sheer hostility to the nation, and whose main purpose ever since has been to denationalize the Principality of Wales. The Disestablishment of the Welsh Church, so far from denationalizing the "four dioceses," would be the removal of a State Religion, whose chief aim has been throughout the centuries to discourage Welsh, and make the English language, and English thoughts and methods, supreme. This I claim to have proved to the hilt in the preceding pages.

The Bishop of Carlisle at same Congress.

But in the same speech, Bishop Diggle states: "Establishment is not of the essence of a church. The Churches of the New Testament were none of them Established Churches. The great majority of the Churches of Christendom to-day are not Established Churches." That is precisely the standpoint of the Welsh nation. Its Ancient Church, like the Church of the New Testament, and like all Churches until the days of Constantine the Great, was never an Established Church. It had its own separate income

and had no connection with the State. It was a combination of free and independent spiritual communities. The Welsh nation has never believed in an Established Church, especially a church with such credentials as the Church in Wales can present. We believe with Talleyrand that the history of all Established Churches is in the main eminently discreditable, and with Professor Bryce, when he says that "To acquiesce in the Establishment of National Churches . . . . must always appear, when scrutinized, contradictory to the nature of a religious body, opposed to the genius of Christianity, defensible, when capable of defence at all, only as a temporary resource in the presence of insuperable difficulties. Had this plan on which so many have dwelt with complacency in later times been proposed either to the Primitive Church in its adversity, or to the dominant Church of the ninth century, it would have been rejected with horror." These words, which are of general application, apply also with peculiar force to the early Celtic Church of Wales, as well as to the overwhelming religious convictions of the Welsh nation to-day. A national Church, allied to the State, and largely governed by it, is absolutely opposed to the profoundest convictions of the Welsh people concerning a Christian Church. In this, as in other respects, we cling to the great traditions of the ancient Church of the Welsh people.

"The Holy Roman Empire," by Jas. Bryce, D.C.L., 1889

But, quite apart from the contention which is at the basis of Nonconformity, or Free Churchism, viz., that a State Church, "by law established" is unscriptural and indefensible under any conditions, the statements made by Dr. Freeman, and which, as far as they go, few would seriously call into question, are sufficient for our purpose. All will admit that the Church is no longer "co-extensive with the nation," even in England. The name it bears is therefore a misnomer, and the preference extended to it by law is extended on a false assumption. The position which is obtained *by virtue* of its "being co-extensive with the nation," or *because* it was "the nation in one of its aspects," is forfeited by "facts," and should be by "law"—apart from all considerations of "theology," with which Dr. Freeman says he has nothing to do in this argument. The Established Church of England is not "The Church of England," as it once was, and it should not remain "Established" as that which it has ceased to be. So much with regard to England.

But with regard to Wales the case is still far stronger. The Celtic Church of Wales was never "by law established," for when it became "Established" it ceased to be the Celtic Church. It always repudiated alliance with the State, or interference by the State, in all matters of religious creed and practice. It was only subject to the State, as every other corporation was, in matters temporal. The Celtic Church, when it was " absorbed " by the Established Church of England, as the result of its being completely overpowered and crushed, so that every vestige of identity and of vital existence had vanished, became in that sense, and in that sense only, " Established." The Church which absorbed it took possession of its Sees and benefices and all its emoluments. It exercised in Wales the authority, and enjoyed the prerogatives which it did in England, on the assumption that it was " co-extensive with the nation." But the Welsh nation knew not the voice of the stranger. It suffered and bled under its tyrannic sway, as I have abundantly proved. At last it recoiled and rejected its proffered ministrations. It raised its own leaders. Apostles sprang up from the soil, and brought the people back to the fervour and simplicity of the faith of their fathers. In spite of all, the Church remained indifferent, and often hostile, to the interests of the nation. Within the last fifty years the same abuses continued in the appointment of alien bishops and clergymen. The one unpardonable disqualification for preferment in the so-called " Welsh Church " was to be a Welshman. Monoglot English dignitaries and clergy flooded the land. The same abuses of pluralities of livings, absentees, and incapacity to speak to the people in a language " understanded " of them continued. Nepotism and plunder were still prevalent.

The Celtic Church never "by law established."

Even in the present generation, and, as I have already shewn, within the last ten years, and in many instances to the present hour, Trust Deeds are violated, and monoglot Englishmen are appointed to Welsh livings. All emphasize the fact that, since the Welsh Church was battered out of existence, the Church which has been permitted to appropriate to itself its sanctuaries and its emoluments, has never been the Church for which those sanctuaries were built, or its emoluments obtained. Moreover, so far from its being " co-extensive with the nation," it is only a small fraction of it; that fraction consisting mainly of the aristocracy, the rich, and

their direct dependents, as well as a goodly proportion of the Anglicised section of the community.

Thus following up to its logical issue, Dr. Freeman's statement of the case—which has in some instances been warmly accepted by the Church defenders—the Church in Wales should no longer be bolstered up by law in its assumption of prerogatives, and in its possession of emoluments, to which it has no claim that can be based either on historical facts or principles of justice. Even accepting Dr. Freeman's further dictum that "advocates of Disestablishment . . . must shew that the Established Church is the cause of evils to the country, so great as not only to out-weigh any advantage of which it may be the cause, but also to outweigh the evils, inherent in so great a change," I claim to have abundantly met these requirements in the preceding pages. Moreover, while differing from Dr. Freeman in saying that "Disestablishment . . . must be judged by the legislator from one point of view *only*"—except in so far as the awful abuses of trust help to emphasize that point of view—I will accept that as a test, namely: "Will it be for the common good of the country to make any change in these matters, or will it be better to leave them alone?" We can concede this with regard to the "Church in Wales," and yet our position as advocates for its disestablishment is impregnable.

Judge Vaughan Williams, who, as Chairman of the Welsh Church Commission, has aroused antagonism on the part of Nonconformist representatives, has, as a Churchman, either departed from his utterances of other days, or he entertains views much more in harmony with the Nonconformist position than most are apt to think. Seventeen years ago, in a paper read before the Cymmrodorion Society, he said: "Remember the Celtic Church, unadulterated by foreign influences, was for nearly half the whole time which has elapsed since the birth of Christ the dominant Church in Wales. . . . One cannot help wishing that at this time (the Reformation) Henry VIII. had constituted Wales a separate province, independent of Canterbury, even though the political relations of England and Wales may have made it difficult, if not impossible, to do in Wales as was done in Ireland." Then, having spoken of the characteristic insistence of Celts that their institutions shall have a local character, he proceeds: "Can

"The Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society," 1893-1894, pp. 14, 15, 18, 19.

the Church in Wales make no concession to this local feeling? Is it impossible to fall in with the spirit of decentralization by the separation of the Welsh Sees from the province of Canterbury? This would not of a necessity involve the creation of a new Archbishopric. Notwithstanding what is said of the Bishopric of Caerleon, having been the metropolitan of the Roman Welsh Province, it seems to me that the better opinion is that there was no primacy among the old Welsh Sees. Is it possible to concede to the Welsh local and natural feeling that the election of a bishop on a vacancy shall be vested in the members of the Church?"

How ridiculous the shrieks of the Bishop of St. David's, and others, about the unutterable calamity which would befall "the four Welsh dioceses" if separated from their beloved Canterbury, sound, as we hear these words of Judge Vaughan Williams! His Lordship deliberately pleads for one of the great principles of the Ancient Celtic Church, before the Anglo-Latin system was thrust upon it, namely, as Mr. Willis Bund expresses it, "the harmony of the Church and the people: the right of either party from the other, and in the other." It is the principle of the Free Churches of to-day; for the election of bishops by the members of the Church would naturally involve, as a logical sequence, the election of all ministers by the members. It is but a step further that, when the people have a voice in the government of the Church, they will be prepared to pay for its maintenance. This will set free the emoluments of a Church which once represented the whole nation, and which, through the liberality of each tribe, obtained for itself the necessary funds for the spiritual, moral, and mental improvement of the tribal life.

The Church Congress at Yarmouth, 1907. The Bishop of Norwich.

"Western Mail," Oct., 1907.

The Bishop of Norwich, as President of the Church Congress at Yarmouth, in 1907, chose Disestablishment as the theme of his Presidential Address, and told his audience that "If they looked to the visible palpable changes which would result from Disestablishment, they would find that those changes would be not so startling, as, *a priori*, many would have supposed. Of course, all the distinctive privileges which the National Church possessed beyond those that were possessed by the sects, Protestant and Romanist, would come to an end. This except so far as it would impair spiritual and moral usefulness, ought not to trouble them. With the purely spiritual affairs of the

Church, the State would have no concern. In the case of Disestablishment they would, as a religious community gain much greater freedom. . . . Colonial bishops often expressed their thankfulness for the freedom which they possessed in the Colonial Church."

Referring to Disendowment, he said : "There would be an enormous falling off in the number presenting themselves for ordination. . . . It would not be justifiable, even if possible, to bolster up the Church on an Establishment against the convictions of the people of England."

These words again contrast very strikingly with the fearful forebodings and terrible predictions which are generally indulged in at Church Congresses ! The last sentence, moreover, is a very significant admission. If, with regard to Disestablishment in England, it would not be justifiable, even if possible, to bolster up the Church on an Establishment against the convictions of the people of England, what about bolstering up the Church of Wales, when the nation has sent to the former Parliament every member, and in the present 32 out of the 34 of its representatives, to vote for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales?

I claim to have shewn in the preceding pages that from the time the Anglo-Norman Kings and prelates joined hands in their attempt to trample under foot the inherent liberties and rights of the Ancient Celtic Church of Wales, and gradually overpowered it, until at last it was subjugated and destroyed, and was replaced by a branch of its more powerful and victorious foe, the character and attitude of that branch church has at no time in its history justified the name or position that it has assumed. It has been proved in the preceding pages that, with the exception of two comparatively short intervals, it has been distinctly and uniformly hostile to Welsh patriotism and aspirations, to the growth of Welsh literature, and even the survival of the national tongue. It has been for centuries, in the words of Archdeacon Price, " a hostile garrison " in our land. Moreover, the polity of this Church, based as it is upon the Latin system, has been the furthest removed from the Celtic conception of a Christian Church, from ancient days until now.

It has also been shewn that the record of this Church for long ages, indeed, ever since its triumph over the Ancient Celtic Church, especially with regard to its prelates and patrons, has

been one of unutterable greed, wholesale plunder, ruthless spoliation, unblushing nepotism, and gross immorality—such as should have long since disqualified any church, even if its original title were good, from occupying the position it assumes and maintains in spite of the disapproval of the nation whose name it appropriates, but whose protests it ignores.

It has been admitted that this Church has necessarily, as the result of the shocking disclosures of past evils, and especially the intense search-light of a growingly enlightened public opinion, which has been cast upon its misdeeds and abuses during the last fifty years, undergone a very important change. It would, indeed, have been surpassingly strange if, amid all the great revivals of religion outside its pale, the renaissance of Welsh literature, and the commercial growth and intellectual advance of the Welsh nation, the Established Church should have been the only community to have remained stagnant and unsweetened amid its ancient abuses and scandals. Next to that possibility, the thing that surprises one most is the self-complacent unction with which this fact is referred to, as if it were a sign of supernational grace on the part of any Church to learn to be decent! It should at least be remembered that of all the institutions in the land, it has been the last to profit by the spiritual and mental enlightenment of the nation: that also, when the great forces which have worked so mightily for righteousness first disclosed themselves, they came either from outside the Church, or when they came from within, they were immediately challenged, and, as far as possible, suppressed, and the great apostles of the Church were excommunicated and persecuted, many to the death, by the dignitaries and rulers of the Church. It has been clearly shewn that this attitude was ruthlessly persisted in for centuries, and that the men to whom Wales owes the inestimable boon of being lifted up from the darkness of heathenism into the full splendour of Gospel light, in which it rejoices to-day, were either excommunicated from, or persistently denounced by the so-called Welsh Church.

The Established Church in Wales the last to profit by the spiritual enlightenment of the nation.

It has been demonstrated, moreover, that for the last fifty, or even thirty years, the improvement that has taken place has been such as the circumstances of the case literally demanded as a condition of the Church being tolerated at all. For a nation

awakened out of its heathenish lethargy by ministers outside the pale, and without the aid, of the Church, was in no mood to tolerate any longer an establishment which combined in itself the greatest profession with the most glaring shortcomings.

It has also been made clear that the improvement which has taken place has been the result of the working parish clergy being appointed more on their merits, and being permitted to work less under the tyranny and favouritism of episcopal oppressors; although even these evils have not yet entirely disappeared. Under these improved conditions the working clergy have emulated their brethren of the Free Churches, and have in many instances done noble work; but a work that would have been still more effective if those clergymen had been released from the restraints of the episcopacy and patronage, and had been selected by the people to whom they had to minister.

The present Anglicising policy of the Church in Wales.

It has been, moreover, abundantly proved that even now one or two bishops, who, in spite of the fact that they themselves have been placed in the position they occupy because they are Welshmen, use their position to denationalize the Welsh people, and to check national sympathies in their clergy by persistently, and in the face of constant protests, appointing monoglot Englishmen to Welsh-speaking districts. We have seen how one of their number daringly circumvented the Endowment Deed of a School that had been founded as late as 1847 by a patriotic Welshman, primarily and chiefly in order to encourage the study of the Welsh language and literature, and in which Welsh was compulsory for one hour every school day. This was circumvented by making French optional with Welsh, and thus more was done to cripple Lampeter (to which the school was largely preparatory) in its attempts to train Welsh clergymen than by any other means in the present generation. This Anglicising policy, as we have seen, has been so persisted in within the last ten years by that Champion of the Welsh Church, that his clergy rebelled—among them the Venerable Archdeacon, the learned historian of the Diocese of St. Asaph—and, in some instances, were driven to use language far more vigorous than respectful towards their diocesan. It follows that the measure of relative increase which the Church has enjoyed has been, with scarcely an exception, in Anglicised districts, and by the importation

of English and other nationalities, and not by turning the heart of the Welsh nation. In other words, the increase of the Church in Wales has been almost in the same ratio of the denationalization of the Welsh people.

My contention is not with the working clergy of Wales, nor, indeed, even with the dignitaries of the Church in the main as men, as much as with the Establishment itself as a Hierarchical Institution planted in our midst, as an organization through which everything Welsh is being suppressed in favour of the advance of so-called religious civilization and religion. No better illustration could be given than an extract from a leading article in the *Guardian*, the organ of the High Church party, on December 20, 1882, when Bishop Lewis (the third Welshman within 160 years appointed to a Welsh See) succeeded Bishop Ollivant at Llandaff. Having spoken of the Welsh language as "a serious hindrance to unity of civilization and religion," the writer proceeded: "We might well rejoice were it possible for all the inhabitants of the Principality itself to wake up to-morrow having forgotten the Welsh language as a spoken language, and take up English as a mother tongue." And then he indulged in a Jeremiad: "After centuries of union with England, the suppression of the Welsh by the English seems, at least, as far off as ever." Precisely, but a Church that has represented and sought to enforce those sentiments for centuries, and at this time of day, persists in uttering them, is not the Church whose "four dioceses" can be accepted by the Welsh people—apart even from all principles of Established Churches—as a Church having anything in common with its national life and aspirations. The Church in Wales is not in its spirit or polity adapted to the Welsh nation. It has with a persistency extended over centuries misused its position and trust for the advancement of anti-national aims, for the self-aggrandisement of prelates and dignitaries, at the cost of utterly crippling its energies and activities as a spiritual agency, and leaving the nation to itself to sink into heathenish ignorance and vice, or work out, unaided, its own redemption. Happily, the nation has done the latter.

Leading Article in the *Guardian*, Dec. 20, 1882.

The story of that triumph, against infinite odds, is unequalled elsewhere in the history of nations. This having been done, it is ready to invite every clergyman to unite with the successors

of those early apostles of the land, who, by the blessing of God, laid firm and deep the foundations of our religious liberties and privileges. It welcomes them into a service of equal rights and privileges, where there shall be no State patronage or eclât, but a healthy and stimulating emulation in every good deed, and high endeavour for the amelioration of suffering, the enlightenment of the ignorant, the uplighting of the race, and the turning of the heart of the nation unto God.

The haughty bearing of Church dignitaries, &c.

But they will have none of this. Perhaps the most objectionable fact to intelligent Nonconformists in connexion with the Established Church as a State Institution is the haughty bearing of most of its dignitaries and many of its clergy. In this respect Dr. Freeman's comparison of officials of the Church with those of the Army strikes one as being peculiarly appropriate. They have swallowed the same poker. Quite apart from the teaching of the Christian religion of which they are ostensibly the "national" exponents, one would have thought that the record of shame and failure connected with the Church in Wales would have saved them from this last infirmity of ignoble minds. Yet, in an incredible number of instances the pride of privilege and of State patronage has completely turned their heads. Whatever those individuals may have forfeited through the abuses which have devastated the Church for centuries, no one can doubt that the petition of the devout Scotchman has been amply fulfilled in them: "Lord, gie us a mighty conceit o' oursels."

Their ignorance—amid the isolations of their own little circle—is lamentable. They live under a tub, whose outer rim is mistaken by them for God's horizon, and it never widens! It never can without bursting the tub! The way in which some, who have utterly failed in the Free Churches and gone over to the Established Church as "the last port in a storm," and others who have never had a message to their age—or, if they have, have never been able to tell it—complacently speak of the "unauthorized ministers" of other denominations, is an interesting study in the abnormal development of weaklings. The men of whom they thus speak are those who, far more than any other class, are the recognized leaders of the nation. They are those who pre-eminently fashion our modern national literature, mould the thoughts, direct the aspirations, and

decide the course of the Welsh nation. They are those to whom the people as a whole look up, and to whom they listen, as aspirants for Parliamentary honours well know. Yet the old fallacy that the Church provides the only educated gentleman in a parish a feat which, as we have shewn, it rarely accomplished in the Welsh parson—still tenaciously clings to the typical Welsh clergyman. Thus he swells into startling proportions in the presence of the Nonconformist minister, who, in spite of all that an ordinary observer knows to the contrary, is supposed to belong to an inferior order of beings, ignored by God and despised by man. Thus co-operation in the great majority of instances is repudiated, and the Church that to-day has not a single outstanding preacher, or leader of men, to compare with the late Dean Edwards, Dean Howell, Archdeacon Griffiths, or Rector John Griffith, of the past two generations, and, with the score that to-day belong to the Free Churches, is as arrogant and self-assertive as ever. And, as long as the Church in Wales is Established by law, this assumption of authority and superiority will always go hand-in-hand with utter incapacity to sustain it, and will thus remain a source of isolation, irritation, and mutual contempt among those who, of all men ought to be united, respectful, and even sympathetic toward each other.

The Bishop and Clergy of Llandaff and United Campaign of "Wales for Christ."

A striking and regrettable instance of this has just occurred as this sheet is passing through the press. Great revival services have recently been held in Cardiff by Messrs. Chapman and Alexander on undenominational lines, and with most gratifying results. They were held in a Congregational Chapel, the largest building —not excepting Park Hall—in Cardiff. At the close it was urged by Dr. Chapman that there should be a united campaign of all the churches—"Wales for Christ." As the result, it was decided to hold the first meeting on neutral ground, and at considerable extra cost, Park Hall was secured, and invitations sent to ministers of all denominations, including the clergy, of Cardiff and the district, namely, East Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire. The invitation included the Bishop of the Diocese—who had also been previously asked to take the chair at the Welcome Meeting to the Missioners, but had declined. There were fifteen hundred representatives present. Only two clergymen replied to the invitation and not more than one was present—and he, when asked to come

to the platform, did not respond. Thus, in this proposed National Movement, the so-called "National Church" once more stands frigidly aloof. This is only a repetition of the policy of the Church for centuries, a policy that has placed it so largely, and almost totally, outside every movement connected with the true life of the nation.

This haughty, self-assertive spirit, withdrawing from co-operation with all others not belonging to its own community, which has in all ages been a distinctive characteristic of every hierarchy—pre-eminently that of Rome—has been the characteristic of the Church of Augustine from its institution until now.* It will be remembered that Dunawd and his brother bishops traced it early in Augustine when he remained seated as they approached him, instead of rising to meet them. They declined to be associated with him in evangelizing the Saxons, as much out of suspicion of him, as of the Saxons. Their refusal, as we have seen, was amply justified by the treatment which the Scots subsequently received, who readily responded to Augustine's invitation. The Rev. W. Hunt, M.A., speaks in glowing terms of their splendid service. Referring to Oswald, the son of Aethelfrith who slew the monks of Bangor Isgoed, he says: "Under him (Oswald, the son of Aethelfrith) the Church in Northumbria entered on a new and vigorous life. . . The principal agents in this religious progress were Scots, who came from Iona and Ireland, and carried

"The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest," by W. Hunt, M.A., p. 73

* As this sheet is passing through the press another instance is published of clerical and episcopal arrogance from Carnarvon, where the Bishop of Bangor and Vicar of Carnarvon (a son-in-law of the late Lord Aberdare), refused to permit the Chaplain of the High Sheriff—a Calvinistic Methodist minister, and M.A. of Cambridge and Wales—to read the lessons on the occasion of the visit of Mr. Justice Jelf, although both attended service at the special invitation of the Judge. As a result, a curate conducted the service, at which the Vicar himself was not present. No lessons were read, and no sermon was preached! In this connection it is interesting to remember that Bishop Watkin Williams has recently been advocating Christian re-union—evidently once more by "absorption!" One would be interested in knowing what impression this latest instance of clerical and episcopal exclusiveness and pride made upon the English Judge. The lessons are often read by laymen, especially some local magnate, or wealthy Nabob—squire, doctor, brewer, &c.—but this Calvinistic Methodist minister of culture, although deemed worthy of reading the lessons recently on the occasion of the memorial service to the late King, is deemed unworthy of doing so on the occasion of the visit of one of His Majesty's judges, although he was the Chaplain of the High Sheriff, who had expressed his wish to the Vicar that this courtesy might be extended to his Chaplain. Vicar Wynne Jones' reply was as significant as it was insolent. He expressed regret that the High Sheriff "should have intended to break with an old custom," adding that he "might have waited for Disestablishment, if it was to come, before attempting to effect a small measure of it on his own account." He concluded by saying that he wished to consult his own diocesan before giving a final reply. From the foregoing effusion the result of this consultation may be anticipated. The Vicar subsequently wrote to the High Sheriff informing him that "there would be no lessons read at the service, and therefore *he feared* there would be no opportunity for the Sheriff's Chaplain to take part," and expressing regret that "there would be nothing for the Sheriff's Chaplain to do in the Church!" This is the type of man that is generally marked out for promotion in the Welsh Church! And it is all this that a nation of Free Churchmen has endured long, but will tolerate no longer.—D.D.

on and extended the work begun by the Roman missionaries. Their devotion and the beauty of their lives deserve our admiration, the work they accomplished, our gratitude. One by one the Roman missionaries had passed away, until very few could have been left in England; fresh labourers were urgently needed, for the harvest was plenteous and labourers few. The followers of St. Columba willingly offered themselves to the Lord of the harvest, and gathered abundantly into His garner."

No sooner, however, had these grand men evangelized the whole Kingdom of Mercia than Wilfrith insisted upon the supremacy of Rome and Canterbury by the assertion of Peter being the sole possessor of the keys of the kingdom, and entered into the labours of those humble Christian missionaries.

The lordly bearing of the Church of Augustine.

It is this lordly bearing of the Church of Augustine that has been chiefly accountable for the haughty pride and priestly assumption of so many of its clergy from the earliest times until now. The more enlightened laity of the Established Church are beginning to see this,, and are lifting up their voice in protest. Mr. J. Morgan, of Aberystwyth, is one of their number; and within a few weeks of the writing of these lines, a remarkable letter from Mr. W. S. de Winton, a strong Church Defender, and frequent speaker at Church Congresses, appeared in the *Guardian* (May 20th), in which we read the following :—

Mr. W. S. de Winton's Letter in the *Guardian*, May 20th, 1910.

"I think I can tell why æsthetic congregations will probably for many years continue to prefer to remain in their chapel. They get there what they won't get in the Church just yet, though it will come to us some day, if the Church Reform League goes on and prospers—self-government and a recognition of the 'priesthood of the laity.' If we laymen are really 'kings and priests' we have as much the right to a share in the government of the Church as we have the duty of offering ourselves, our time, and our substance to the Church's service?

"Until these two corrective principles are more adequately realized in the Church, we cannot hope to have done with the Congregational chapel; until we reduce the despotism of the Bishop (however benevolently it may be exercised) to the primitive position of a Constitutional monarch we shall never win Presbyterians to Episcopacy; until we make it clear that Confirmation is

at once the completion of Baptism and the consecration of the layman to the priesthood of the laity, we shall never empty the Baptist chapel. Nor shall we deserve to win these Nonconformists to the Church until we make it clear to ourselves as well as to them that Establishment, far from meaning any bondage of the Church to State, stands for the State's guaranty of freedom to the Church from State interference. . . .

"A different reason keeps, I think, the average uneducated Dissenter away from the Church—the love of a simple service which he can understand. Until the Church provides in Mission-buildings a non-Prayer Book service as an alternative to the liturgical service of the parish church, the chapel will continue to be the spiritual home of multitudes of working men, even after the other remedies I have suggested are forthcoming."

From these and other utterances even from within the Church, apart from clamant demands from without, men of discernment can clearly see that the time of awakening has at length come, especially in Wales. It has been long in coming. The old religious tyrannies and disabilities of the middle ages have, during the last century, gradually disappeared, and the last vestige of them must now go, and the Christianity of our country be free and unfettered.

Dean Edwards, in those brave words he uttered at the Swansea Church Congress, 30 years ago, words which have come down thundering through the last generation, put his finger upon the chief seat of the mischief when he repeated the words of Pliny—"the worst disease is that which is diffused from the head"—and there, in the presence of Archbishops, bishops, and all the dignitaries of the Church, applied the words to the Church in Wales. It is in high places, and inseparably connected with the system of State and private patronage, that abuses still linger. The abuses are not things of the past to the degree we are asked to believe. Even within the last generation the old pride toward those without, and the old greed in relation to those within, in the oppression of the weak by the strong, have repeatedly re-asserted themselves on the part of those in the high places of the Welsh Church.

Abuses in high places of the Church.

As a striking proof of this, I have called attention to the conduct of Church dignitaries—pre-eminently the Prebendaries of St. David's—when The Cathedral Act was passed. That Act is ac-

knowledged by all to have been one of the most beneficient Acts ever passed by Parliament, especially in the interests of the poor parish clergy. I have shewn how those prebendaries, being forewarned that such an Act would be passed, successfully had recourse to one of the most scandalous devices imaginable to delay the operation of the Act. In so doing they amassed for themselves huge fortunes by delaying for two, and in some instances, nearly three generations, the intended relief to those parish clergy whose emoluments in the form of tithes had been pilfered for centuries by the predecessors of those very prebendaries, into which succession they, too, had gladly entered. Thus unabashed and unrebuked, by even their diocesan—for he, too, had a like inheritance —they leased, as we have seen, their tithe rents in each case on the three of the youngest lives they could find, and so secured their haul of gold for themselves and their descendants, who, to this day —70 years after the passing of the Act—in some cases, I am assured, are fattening upon the flesh and marrow of the clergy, who do the work on a pittance.

But we are told that by Disendowment the emoluments would be alienated from their original purposes. My contention is that they have already long since been alienated. There is no doubt whatever that the original donors of the endowments of the Celtic Church would recoil from the thought of having them used as they have been, not only when plundered by bishops and dignitaries in the past, but even as they are to-day for the maintenance of a system with which they had not the shadow of sympathy. Any measure that restores them to national uses, for the moral elevation, enlightenment and true culture of the people, brings them into far greater harmony with their original purposes than the appropriation of them for the sustenance of a Church toward which neither the original benefactors, nor the bulk of their rightful beneficiaries, would have any sympathy or lot.

Lord Selborne's dictum: National religion is the religion of the people.

So far from believing that a nation, when it gives up a State Establishment of religion, gives up the national recognition of religion, we believe with Lord Selborne, quoted more fully elsewhere, when he said, on the Second Reading of the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill, that " National religion is not any profession embodied in law, or forms and ceremonies made by those who are

at the head of Government, but it is the religion of the people who constitute the nation." Apply these words to Wales, and there can be only one conclusion. The national religion of Wales is the religion of the Free Churches, which, like the Ancient Celtic Church, in all church matters, repudiate alike the patronage and interference of the State. We also remember that for the 200 years before the Reformation, when the Church of England was most exalted in wealth and power, and was dominant in Wales as a hostile garrison, Christianity was at its lowest ebb, Church dignitaries were the incarnation of worldly pomp, selfish greed, and love of power.

Lord Selborne's protest against the earlier and more drastic proposals made by the Liberation Society with reference to the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England, with which he contrasted the more liberal treatment accorded to the Irish Church, has been made obsolete and utterly meaningless by the generous concessions of Mr. Asquith in his last Disestablishment Bill for Wales. One has but to read pp. 320-330 of his "Defence of the Church of England" to see that practically all he states is utterly inapplicable to the generous proposals of Mr. Asquith's measure for Wales. Indeed, Lord Selborne's (then Sir Roundell Palmer) speech in the House of Commons, in 1870, in favour of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church is one of the best answers that can be given to the objections raised against the present proposals for the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church.

In view of the fact that Lord Selborne is accepted by the Defenders of the Church in Wales as pre-eminently the Champion of the Established Church, and words used by him with reference to the Church in England are applied with alacrity to the very different circumstances connected with the Church in Wales, it will be instructive to quote more fully his utterances in the House of Commons on the occasion to which we have just referred. He said: "I mean by Disestablishment the severance of direct political relations between the institutions of the Church and the laws and government of the State. . . . I cannot agree with those who say that the severance of the political relations of the Church with the State is, and necessarily must be, an abnegation of national Christianity, or an act of national apostasy. It appears to me that

Speech by Lord Selborne (then Sir Roundell Palmer), "The Times," March 23rd, 1869

such a view is founded on an entirely false notion of the vocations of a civil government, and the nature of national religion. The duty of civil government is to govern all and every part of the country committed to its charge with impartiality and justice, and with regard to those interests which it belongs to human laws to protect. National religion, as I understand it, is not the profession of forms and ceremonies made by those who are at the head of the Government; but it is the religion of the people who constitute the nation. . . In reality, nothing has more changed and fluctuated in form, and almost in substance, than this idea of Establishment as applied to the Church in this country, and to the institutions in relation to the Church. The idea of Establishment at this day is different from what it was in the times of Elizabeth and Mary, and down to the time of the Revolution in 1688. It then meant that the Church and its rules were, by law in this country, incorporated with the laws of the realm, and every person was presumed and commanded by law to be a member of that Church, and he was punished by the temporal law if he did not discharge his duties belonging to a member of the Church. That is a totally different kind of Establishment from any now existing in this country. There were persons who, when the Toleration Laws were first introduced, thought that we were giving up national Christianity because we did not compel every citizen to profess the form of faith most identified with that of the State. Do we not know, with respect to the penal laws, which all of us now condemn, that there were men who looked on every one of them as a badge and mark of national Christianity, and fancied that if we removed them we should shake the foundations of faith."

These are grand words! But the descendants of those people who believed the nation was Christian to the degree that every man was hanged who did not adopt their religion and endorse their creed, are those who to-day believe a nation is Christian to the degree that it consents to those endowments—which were partly given and partly enforced by the arms of law for the support of the creed and faith of the whole nation—being devoted to their own exclusive use!

Lord Selborne shews how the religious zeal, which was only great in burning others who were not infected by it, has been cur-

tailed in its power of operation, so that the Establishment in that abnormal sense has ceased to exist, and one of a milder form has taken its place. We go but a step further when we say that as that Establishment by the growth of enlightenment and love of liberty became intolerable, so its substitute—which is noted only for its power of appropriating for its own support emoluments which were never intended for it, but were given to it as the result of political and ecclesiastical oppression—should be taught that there is no law in heaven, and should not be on earth, that renders the continuance of that anomaly necessary or even tolerable. On the contrary, the principles of justice demand that the religious coterie, which forms but a fraction of the nation—and which was placed in its present anomalous position by the collusion of the Kings of England and the Archbishops of Canterbury in the days of royal and priestly despotism, and out of hostility to the nation which it was supposed to serve—shall occupy that position no longer. We have seen that the Ancient Celtic Church of Wales has, according to the testimony of archbishops and bishops, ceased to be a Church at all, but is only "four dioceses of Canterbury"; and yet it monopolizes the emoluments of that body, and exploits the old name when it is convenient to appeal to the patriotism of the nation.

Lord Selborne (then Sir Roundell Palmer) proceeded on the same occasion to define the Establishment, and the ceaseless irritation which the possession of such a prerogative by the Church of the minority caused in Ireland. These in every detail apply with equal force to Wales, and the power that righted that wrong can right this. He asked: "What is Establishment? It is a political privilege, it is giving the Church a superiority of rank and an exclusive right—a right whch no other religious body in the country possesses—to have their laws deemed part of the laws of the land, to have courts maintained for the execution of those laws, the association of the Sovereign with the appointment of their chief officers like the great officers of State, the introduction of their chief officers into the highest seats in one of the two Houses of the Legislature. These are signs and marks of political ascendancy, these are the political privileges, these are the things that cause this rankling and irritation of feeling, and, in my humble judgment, the exigency of the case, the removal of this so-called

sentimental grievance may be met by the corresponding remedy—the removal of those causes which elevate factitiously a particular Church above the other religious bodies in the country."

Lord Selborne suggested that half the emoluments, especially the incomes of bishops, &c., should be docked. This was resisted by the Government of the day, and in this it was vigorously supported by *The Times*, in the days of its enlightenment, in a leading article, where we find these trenchant words: "In violation of all policy, of all justice, of all religion, the governing body of the nation violently transferred, three centuries since, endowments which had been appropriated to the use of all to the use of a few. The Parliament of to-day wishes to undo this transfer, and, the altered circumstances of the time no longer admitting the application of endowments to their former uses, they will be devoted to fresh purposes of general utility." *The Times*, March, 1869.

The theory of "pious donors" as a satisfactory explanation of the bulk of the emoluments of the Established Church has long since been discredited. As an indication that the utterly fallacious arguments and unhistorical assertions made on this subject on Church Congress platforms—especially at Swansea, last autumn—do not satisfy the more clear-sighted clergy themselves, and that the day for successful bombastic assertions of all kinds of absurdities is really over, I quote the following from a letter which appeared in the *Guardian*, immediately after this Congress, on October 29, 1909:—

"If evidence could be brought forward which would show the method by which one single ancient benefice became endowed, we should feel upon firmer ground, but it appears that this cannot be done. The case of Hay, mentioned by the Bishop of Bristol, is much too late*—what took place in the twelfth century is no evidence of the seventh or eighth. The same speaker also cited the will of Alfred as evidence that the Kings gave of their hereditary property. But the Bishop, in this connection, also mentions the fact that Alfred obtained the sanction of the Witan for what he Letter in the *Guardian*, Oct. 29, 1909.

*Upon this case Mr. Bund writes:—"The fact of orders had nothing to do with the holding of a benefice. The only question was, were they members of the tribe? When this view is grasped, the case of the rectory of Hay, which Jones and Freeman cite as something so dreadful, is only an illustration of the rule. It was held by two brothers, one a priest, and one a layman . . . . each had a share as tribesman in the benefice, and would have had if neither had been in orders" (p. 283).—D.D.

did, which one would hardly have thought necessary had the King been dealing with what was absolutely his own. One would hardly imagine it was possible in those early times to separate the King's private property from the State resources. And, besides the gifts of Kings to the Church are hardly to the point, for no one pretends that the tithe and glebe came in that way. Mr. Green seemed to get nearer to the heart of the matter. But in his paper the whole of his argument really rests upon the word 'supposed' in the sentence, 'all of which are supposed by lawyers to rest upon a deed,' and a mere supposition, by itself, forms but a poor title to property. Chancellor Smith only referred to post-Conquest endowment, very few of which are being enjoyed by the Church now. What was done 250 years before the Reformation is no proof of what happened seven hundred years before. When we turn from these lawyers to a learned antiquary, such as Maitland, what a different tale is told. This authority assures us that we are in complete darkness as to the origin of early Church endowments, including all tithe and the greater part of the glebe. If that be the case, how can anyone positively assert that they arose from private gifts?

"Some of us, Incumbents like myself, feel uneasy about this matter; we feel that if no better case can be made out for the Church's title to her property than was made at the Congress then her position is but a poor one. We should like to see the case for the Church put upon a more satisfactory footing, if it can be. At any rate, we do not want to be obliged to stand upon Church Defence platforms and make assertions which we cannot substantiate. Any well-instructed Liberationist could have demolished the arguments used at the Congress. I am not a Liberationist! I am an incumbent anxious to get clearer light on this question than I possess at present. I still believe that the Church has a rightful claim to her property, but, had she no better than was made for her at Swansea, I, for my part, cannot see how she could resist a general and genuine call made throughout the country for her disendowment, should it come."

The property of the Ancient Celtic Church has been, as we have shewn, alienated from its original purposes, and transmitted first to one community and then to another, neither of which had any continuity, or organic relationship, with the original Church

of the Welsh nation. This was done partly by plunder and partly by natural sequence, but confirmed by Acts of Parliament, by which the State, undoubtedly, asserted its right of complete control over those emoluments, and exercised it with drastic energy. Besides, from time to time Parliament has intervened to suppress some corporations, and reorganize or reform others. What Parliament has done in confirming it can now undo, and we urge that, in this case, it is its most sacred obligation to exercise that power in remedying a long and crying evil which Legislature has helped to originate, and through weary centuries has continued to sanction and uphold.

In 1895 Mr. Asquith, in moving the Second Reading of his Disestablishment Bill, in the House of Commons, said: "I defy any one . . . who has studied the course of the Revolution in the reign of Henry VIII., the counter-revolution in the reign of Queen Mary, the restoration of the pre-existing state of things in the reign of Elizabeth . . . to dispute the proposition that Parliament did at that time assent and exercise the right to prescribe the conditions of tenure upon which every ecclesiastical benefice of this country was to be held. . . . The Church of England here and in Wales at the present moment is a Church which is absolutely without either judicial or legislative autonomy. . . It is a Church which is impotent to alter a single form, or ceremony, or line of its doctrines, or service, without first of all obtaining the license of the Crown. . . . The Irish Church Act is the most complete assertion which this or any other Legislature has ever made of its power to do as it pleases with the status of the Established Church, and to divert the endowments of that Church, if it likes, to purely secular uses." "The Times," March 22nd, 1895

Now according to the provisions of the last Bill introduced for Wales, large concessions are made which are not only just, but generous, and in the directions in which disendowment will apply, the proceeds are devoted to purposes most conducive to the health, enlightenment, purity, and general weal of the nation.

But at this time of day, and with a Bill in readiness for Parliament by the Prime Minister for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church in Wales, it seems incredible that the Government, among the most brilliant of whose members are prominent Free Churchmen, and even sons of the manse, should

Suggested State Church for Lagos.

favour the imposition of another State Church upon the inhabitants of Lagos, West Africa, against the will of the people. Yet, it appears, that this is what they will be asked to sanction, if indeed they have not already indicated their approval. We learn from well-accredited testimony that the dissatisfaction is most acute in Lagos, and the proposal resolutely resented.*

The account given of a meeting of the natives of Lagos and their chiefs, which is partly reproduced in the footnote, reads like the record of a meeting held in Wales and led by the chiefs a thousand years ago. We have only to change the names and date in order to make it faithfully represent what then repeatedly took place in our own country, except that then the protest was exclusively from Christians; but, alas! to no purpose.

Here, to, we have the same ancient priestly assumption. The man who, after assiduously beating the big drum, succeeded in securing the attendance of *four* Europeans, out of the large white population engaged in the railway service, finds in this abnormal response a token of his right "to ask the Governor to

---

* The West African correspondent of the *Christian World* writes:—"Our chaplain has now been installed for some months, and the recent special service held by him at Ebuta Meta is typical of the "strong feeling" which prevails for his services. Exceptional announcements had been made that on Easter Sunday the recently appointed Colonial chaplain would hold a Communion service for the benefit of the large white population engaged in the railway service. The Anglican Church of St. Jude was borrowed for the occasion. The attendance of Europeans was four! *The Nigerian Times* then announced that the Colonial chaplain intended asking the "Governor, Sir Walter Egerton, to have a building consecrated for Divine service for the Europeans on the Railway." We have always held locally that if the British Parliament sanctions the creation of a State Church out of Imperial revenues provided by Mohamedan and Pagan taxpayers, it will be forced by the course of events to sanction an ever-increasing expenditure, against which strong and unanimous opposition has, without avail. frequently expressed itself. . . . A meeting was held at Enu Owa, and was attended by some thousands of people. The Senior White Cap Chief Ojora presided over the great gathering, which was most orderly throughout. Chief Ojora was supported by Chiefs Eletu, Edibo, Onitana, by the other White Cap Chiefs, War Chiefs. the Headmen, the Limomus, Giwos, leaders of the two Mohammedan sections, and prominent and leading representatives of the Christian community. Dr. O. Obasa emphasized "that representations were said to have been made in England to the effect that the native population of Lagos favoured the establishment of a Colonial Church and chaplaincy in Lagos. . . . it would be for the meeting to say whether such representations were true or not." . . . The following resolutions were then passed unanimously and with acclamation:—1. "That, whereas it has come to our knowledge that it has been represented that we, natives of Lagos, are in favour of the establishment of a Church in Lagos under the auspices of the Government, and supported by money from the public revenue of the Colony, we desire to record our strong protest against any such idea, and to emphazise our disagreement with any scheme of the kind. 2. That as we have all along understood it to be the policy of His Majesty's Government to show no favour to any religious belief or religious sect, but to grant tolerance to religious beliefs of all kinds, we desire that such policy of tolerance should be maintained in our case, and we appeal to the British people to help in maintaining for us liberty of conscience in religious matters, free of all and any distinctions and discriminations. 3. That we desire that our opinion in regard to the matter should be printed and attested to by our chiefs, elders, and representative men, and circulated far and wide, in order to such opinions being known abroad, and with the view of enlisting the sympathy and support of all good people to secure for us religious equality in our country."—D.D.

have a building consecrated for divine service for the Europeans on the railway'! It requires a man who is in "the apostolic succession" to have the temerity to do this. Imagine such a man subsidized by the State, and that by the consent of the English Government! But then, only such men need subsidies, and they are too often estimated at their own valuation.

These protests of the people of Lagos to-day are but faint echoes of those of the ancient Celts of Wales. But all the protests of the Welsh chiefs and people were then, and have been subsequently, made in vain. The iron grip of Norman Kings and Archbishops overpowered the Welsh people, and thus crushed their Church and appropriated its emoluments. Those emoluments, as far as practicable—and that at best can only be partial—must, after long centuries of delay, be restored.

The Demand of the Welsh Nation.

This the nation, by an overwhelming majority, as proved by the mandate given to its representatives in Parliament, *now* demands. I repeat that the spirit of the Celtic Church still lives in the Nonconformists of Wales. It is the self-reliant spirit of that grand old Church, which was essentially democratic in constitution and polity, and which never would brook interference on the part of Pope, Archbishop, or State, in matters of religious creed and practice, that re-asserts itself to-day in the Free Churches and institutions of our land, and demands that the possessions which have been diverted to utterly alien purposes shall be restored to the people. It demands that they shall be devoted to the best interests of the whole Welsh nation, without regard to narrow prejudices or irritating bigotries, whether religious, social, or political, devoted to those purposes of philanthropy, truth, and justice, which shall unitedly lead up to the highest ends and noblest issues of our corporate life, and ultimately find their consummation in that "righteousness that exalteth a nation."

INDEX.

A.

Abergwili, Ancient College at, 131.
Absorption of Celtic Church "under strong pressure," 64, 65.
Aethelbert, 40.
Aethelfrith, 41.
Aidan, 43.
Alexander, Rev. W. Lindsay, 40.
Anglicizing policy of Welsh Church, Nemesis of the, 178.
Anglicising process in the wake of the Conquest, 61, 81.
Anselm, Archbishop, 46.
Anti-Welsh, The Church in Wales, 151, 184, 185, 215.
Archbishop and Bishops, Income of 170-172.
Ariminium, Council of, 16.
Arthur, 56.
Arthurian Legends, 52, 56.
Arwystli, 13.
Asquith, H. H., 222, 227, 228.
Athanasius, 16.
Augustine and the Pelagian Heresy, 17.
Augustine and Welsh Bishops, 19, 20, 41, 42, 43, 45.

B.

Bailey, Dr. Lewis, 108.
Baldwin, Archbishop, 54, 55, 81.
Baptism, Celtic adminis. of, 20.
Bards, The Welsh, 51, 62.
Barlow, Bishop, 155, 156, 160.
Bebb, Principal, 24, 48, 73, 77, 160.
Beck, Bishop, 82, 131.
Bede's Eccles. History, 19, 42.
Bernard, Bishop, 33, 37, 47-49, 88, 90, 153, 154.
Bernard, Bishop and others, fleecing the Diocese of St. David's, 153-157.
Berriew, 127.
"Bettws," 92.
Bevan, Canon, 22, 33, 34, 139, 147.
Bible, Mary Jones and her, 122.
Bibles, Distribution of, 121.
Bishop, Celtic, different from Diocesan 21, 23.
Bishop as Lord Marcher, 81, 88.
Bishop, First consecration of a Welsh, by Archbishop of Canterbury, 46.
Bishop, First consecration, ditto, by Archbishop of York, 46.
Bishops and the poor clergy, 163-172.
Bishops, The greed of the, of St. David's, 153-157.
Bishops, The greed of the, of St. Asaph, 157-160.
Bishop, First Welsh, who swore canonical obedience to Canterbury, 46.
Bishops, British, at important Councils, 16.
Bishops, Ignorance of Welsh, 46, 36, 44-46.
Bishops and the Ecclesiastical Commission, 165-170.
Bishops and Augustine, 19, 20, 42, 43.
Bishops, The Georgian, "good shots," and often translated, 112, 113.
Bishops, Large number of Celtic, 24.
Blackstone, Judge, on Tithes, 30.
Brân, tradition of, 12, 13.
Brecon, Christ Church College, 128-133.
Bright, 64, 65, 77, 197.
Bright, Dr., on absorption of Celtic Church "under strong pressure," 64, 65.

Browne, Bishop, 25, 197.
Browne, Bishop, on the Articles, 25.
"Brut y Tywysogion," 49.
Bryce, James, 208.
Bund, J. W. Willis, "The Celtic Church of Wales, 20, 23, 25, 27, 28, 34, 39, 68, 77, 80, 88, 197, 198, 211.
Burgess, Dr., 14, 37.

C.

Cadwallon, 56.
Caerleon, Synod of, 17.
Caerleon-ar-Wysg, College of, 17.
Caerworgan (Llantwit Major), College of, 17.
Canterbury, Dean Hook on "Pope at Canterbury," 38.
Canterbury, gaining power in Wales, 46.
Canterbury Tales, 40.
Canterbury, The late Archbishop of, on the Welsh Church, 199.
"Capel," 92.
Caradoc's History of Wales, 48.
"Carwr y Cymry," 109.
Caractacus ab Brân, 12.
Caractacus ab Cunobelin, 12.
Casbard, Dr., 139.
Castell Careinion, 127.
Cathedral Act and Church Dignitaries, 162, 163, 221.
Cathedrals, survivors of Celtic Monasteries, 25.
Cathedral, Dignitaries of St. David's fleecing the poor clergy, 162, 163.
Cecil, Hugh, Lord, 204.
Cefnllys, Welsh Church, dismantled by Rector of Llandrindod (illustrations), 179, 180.
Cefnarthen, Indep. Church, 119.
Celibates, The Welsh Clergy not, 36, 37.
Celtic Church, Gradual Subjugation of, to Canterbury, 40-89.
Celtic Church, Hostile to Rome, 36.
Celtic Church, Non-existent, 199, 204.
Celtic Church, Property of, given to a new body, 198.
Celtic Church, Protestant, 37.
Celtic Church, Suppression of leading characteristics, 33.
Celtic Church, Very different from the Episcopal State Church, 22, 39, 44.
Celtic Church, Democratic basis of, 18.
Celtic Church, Dislike for Canterbury, 38.
Celtic Church, Free of all outside control, 20, 39.
Celtic Church, never by law established, 209.
Celtic Church, Independency of, 39.
Celtic Church, no Parochial Clergy in, 34.
Celtic Church, Opposed to Rome, Canterbury, and Westminister, 46.
Charles, Thomas, 115.
Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, 40.
Christianity in England extinct, 40.
Christianity, Celtic and Latin opposed, 39.
Church Defence Tracts, 63, 64. 228, 229.
Church, Established, gained nothing from Meth. Revival, 118, 119.
Churches, Ancient, names of, 37, 38.
Church Progress in Wales, 179-184.
Circulating Schools, 114-116.
Clarke, H. W., 31, 46, 66, 77, 161, 164.
Cleaver, Bishop, 159, 160.
Clergyman, Arrogant claims of Lagos, 228, 229.
Clergy, Ignorant of Welsh, 127, 144-152. (1836), 123-125.
Colman, 43.
Columba, 43.
Commission, Report of, *re* Established Church in Wales in 1836, 123-125.
Congress, Church, at Barrow, 172, 204.
Congress, Church, at Cardiff, 198.
Congresses, The pabulum ladled out at, 205.
Congress, Church, at Manchester, 111, 135, 172.
Congress, Church, at Swansea, 109, 144-145, 204, 206-208, 225.
Congress, Church, at Yarmouth, 211.
Conquest, The, of Wales and the Welsh Church, simultaneous, 76.
Conquest of Wales, 61, 68, 76, 79.
Country, Love of, in Wales, 188.
Cradock, Walter, 108, 119, 121.
Cranmer, 101.
Crusade of Baldwin and Giraldus Cambrensis through Wales, 54, 55.
Coverdale, Miles, 98.
Cymmrodorion Society, "Transactions of," 210.
Cynddelw, 61.

Continuity of British and English Churches not true, 196-198.

D.

Dafydd ab Gwilym, 87.
David, St., Patron Saint, 18, 24.
David's, St., fleeced by its bishops, 153-157.
David's, St., Black Book of, 26, 80, 81, 88.
"David's, St., History of," Jones and Freeman, 23, 47, 48.
Davies, Bp. Rich., 37.
Davies, David (of Swansea), 120.
Dic Shôn Dafydd, 175.
Diggle, Bishop, 207-208.
Dignitaries, Haughtiness of Church and many of the clergy, 216-218.
Dinooth (Dunawd), 17, 42, 50.
Disestablishment, Welsh demand for, 229.
"Disestablishment and Disendowment," by Dr. Freeman, 32, 202, 203, 208, 210, 216.
"Diwygwyr Cymru," 94.
Drives, Whist, and Dances, as means of Church Revival, 183.
Druidism, Transition from, 15.
Dunce's Cap, 192.
Dunstan, Archbishop, 46.
Durham, Golden Deanery of, 157, 169.
Dyer, Rev. John, 191.

E.

Easter, 20, 38
"Eclesiastical jobbery," 67.
"Echoes from the Welsh Hills," 105.
Ecclesiast, Latin, and plundering Norman, 63.
Ecton's Thesaurus, 35.
Edgar, King, 104.
Education, Recent advance in Welsh, 192.
Edward I., 59.
Edwards, Bishop, of St. Asaph, 98, 110, 111, 125, 141.
Edwards, Bishop, when Warden of Llandovery College, 148-151.
" " Comments of *The Record* on, 151.
Edwards, Bishop, and his clergy over his Anglicising policy, 150, 151.
Edwards, Dean, 17, 18, 63, 67, 77, 144-147, 150, 151, 176, 178.
Edwards, O. M., "Hanes Cymru," 15.
Edwards, Rev. John, 108.
Edward VI., 94, 101.
"Eglwys," 90-92.
Eisteddfod, The Revival of the, 188.
Eisteddfod's power of adaptation, 189.
Eleanor, Queen, 79.
Elias, John, 120, 121.
Elidir, 61.
Elizabeth, Queen, 77, 94, 101-103, 106.
Endowments of Celtic Church, 25-36.
Endowments of Celtic Church based on tribal system, 25.
English, Influx of, into Wales, 183, 184.
Erbury, William, 108, 119, 121.
Established, Church by law, like Government by Kings, Lords, and Commons, 203.
Ethelred, 31, 32.
Evangelists persecuted by the Church, 109.
Evans, Christmas, 120, 121.
Evans, Beriah, G., 94.
Evans', Rev. John, Attack on Griffith Jones, 114.
Ewyas, The Standard of, 76.

F.

Failure of Church in Wales, Excuses for, 148-179.
Fishguard, 123.
Fitzhamon, 35, 36.
Fitzgerald, David, Bishop, 154.
Franchise, The thrice-repeated extension of, 194.
Freeman, Ed. A., 23, 32, 68, 77, 199, 202-204.
"Fusion," The so-called of the Celtic and Latin Churches, 63-89.

G.

Gardiner, 101.
Geoffrey of Monmouth, 51.
Georges, The, 112.
Geoffrey Henelawe, 158.
Giraldus Cambrensis, selected by chapter for the See of St. David's, 53.
Giraldus Cambrensis, as historian, 59.
Giraldus Cambrensis and Baldwin's Crusade, 54, 55, 81.
Glamorgan, Vale of, 12.
Gladstone, W. E., Letter to 63.
Glendower, Owen, 71, 84-88.

Glendower's, Owen, Parliament House, 86.
Gouge, Thomas, 113.
Gregory, Pope, 19.
Green, J. R., 42, 44.
Grey, Lord de, of Ruthin, 84.
Griffith, Rev. John, Rector of Merthyr, 176, 177, 178.
Griffiths, Archdeacon, of Neath, 177.
Gruffydd ab Cynan, 52, 61, 73.
Gruffydd ab Rhys, 52.
Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Goch, 61, 62, 81, 83.
Gwalchmai, 61.
"Gwestfa," Y, 29
Gwion, 61.

H.

Haddan and Stubbs' "Councils," 16, 20, 24, 25, 31, 57, 58.
Haddan's "Remains", 14.
Hall, Sir Benjamin, (afterwards Lord Llanover), 128-130, 134, 136, 159, 165-171.
"Hanes Cymru," by O. M. Edwards, 15.
Harmon, St., 127.
Harries, Howell, 109, 114, 120, 121.
Hay, The Rectory of, 225.
Headship, Supreme of the Church, 95, 99, 100, 102.
Henry I., 46, 52.
Henry II., 53, 54, 55.
Henry III., 57.
Henry VII., 88, 89.
Henry VIII., 88, 89, 92-102, 131.
Hergest, Red Book of, 51.
Hervé, Bishop, 46.
Hoadley, Bp., 109.
Hook, Dean, 38, 196.
Hostilities between Welsh and English, 62.
Horsley, Bishop, 160.
Horsley, Bishop, 159.
Hooker's Eccles. Policy, 202.
Hughes, Bishop, of St. Asaph, 106, 157, 160.
Hunt, W., English Church, 16, 43, 197.
Hywel Dda, 27, 29.

I.

Ieuan Brydydd Hir, 122.
Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, 191.
Independence of Wales and Welsh Church vanished, 92.
Irenæus, 14.

J.

James, Spinther, Dr., 95.
Jenkinson's, Bp. Income, 157.
Jerome, 17.
Johnes, Judge, on "The Causes of Dissent in Wales," 45, 67, 77, 121, 126, 127.
Jones, Rev. Isaac, 191.
Jones, David, Llangan, 120
Jones and Freeman, History and Antiquities of St. David's, 23, 47, 48.
Jones, Griffith, Llanddowror, 114-117, 121.
Jones, Ifano, on Welsh in Llandovery College, 149.
Jones, J., Oxford, Pamphlet by, 122.
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor, 158.
Jones, Mr. Arthur, Introd. to Peniarth MS., 73.
Jones, B.A., Rev. D., of Llanfaes, 104.

K.

Kerry, 127.
Kitchen, Bishop Anthony, of Llandaff, 94.
Kyffin, Morus, 104.

L.

Lagos, Proposed endowment of Church at, 228, 229.
Lampeter College and Welsh, 148.
Lamphey, Manor of, 156.
Landisfarne, 43.
Language, Love of, in Wales, 188.
Welsh, 194.
Language, The Welsh, a national asset, 193.
Language, Marvellous vitality of the the Welsh, 193.
Language, Obstacles in the way of 193.
Latin Ecclesiasts in the track of the plundering Norman, 63.
Laws, Hywel Dda's, 27, 29.
,, Ancient Welsh, 18.
Leia, Peter de, Bishop, 53, 154, 158.
Lewis, Dr. George, Llanuwchllyn, 120.
Liberty, Religious, and Celtic Church, 45.
Lisle, Dr., 139.
Literature, Welsh, growth of, 186.
Literature, Welsh, Religious, 187, 188,
"Llan," The Celtic, 90-92.

Livings, Welsh, Scarcity of Clergy for, 151-152.
Llan St. Ffraid, 127.
Llancarfan, College of, 17, 25, 35, 36.
Llandaff, Book of, or *Liber Landavensis*, 26.
Llandegley Churchyard, 125.
Llandilo Church, 91, 123.
Llandovery College, Will of the Founder contravened, 148-150, 214, 215.
Llandrindod Wells, Welsh Church dismantled by Rector (illustrations), 179, 180.
Llanddulais Church, 124.
Llanddewi Brefi, Synod of, 17, 24.
Llanfair-Tref-Helygon, 124.
Llanfihangel, 124.
Llanilid Church, 12.
Llanllwchhaearn, 127.
Llanpumpsaint, 91, 123, 124.
Llanrhaiadr, 127.
Llantwit Major, 17, 35, 36.
Llanvaches, 127.
Llanwrthwl, 127.
Lloyd, Morgan, 119.
Llywelyn, the Great, 55, 56.
,, "Ein Llyw Olaf," 57-59, 60, 62, 76, 79.
Llywelyn, Dr. Thomas, 108.
Llwynllwyd Academy, 119.
Lords-Marcher, 51, 80, 81, 84-88, 89.
Luxmoore, Bishop, and Family, 158-160.
Lyons, 14.

M.

Mabinogion, 51, 52.
"Mabon" on Endowments of Welsh Church, 151, 152.
Macaulay's Hist. of England, 99, 100.
Machynlleth, 127.
Madawc ab Gwallter, 83.
Maenclochog Church, 83, 123.
Manchester Congress, Bishop Edwards at, 111.
Manifesto, Episcopal, 1895, 162.
Martin Marprelate, Tracts, 107.
Mary, Queen, 94, 101, 102.
Mathews, T., M.A., 56, 57, 84, 85.
Medrawd, 56.
Meilir, 52, 62.
Melchisedec and Welsh Tithes, 29.
Merlin, the Wise, 56.
Merthyr, late Rector of (Rev. John Griffith), on the Church in Wales, as a failure, 177.
Methodist Revival, 120, 121.
Methodist Revival, Fore-runners of, 119.
Milman's History, 30.
Milton's Picture of English Nation applied to the Welsh, 107, 195.
Milton's Lycidas, 101, 108.
Minerals, Discovery of, 194.
Mochros, College at, 17.
Monastery, The Ancient Celtic, 21.
Monasteries, Latin, Hen. VIII. and, 96, 97.
Monastic System, Bernard and, 33.
Morgan, R. W., 70, 77, 153.
Morgan, Dr. W., 105, 106.
Morgan, Rev. E., Vicar of Syston, 117.
Morris, Ebenezer, 120.
Mostyn, Ambrose, 121.
Myles, John, 119.

N.

Newell, E. J., 35, 36, 48-50, 69, 77, 97, 153-156, 157.
Newtown, Mont., 127.
Nicholas, Bishop, 35.
Niger, the Young Lady of, 65.
Nonconformists persecuted, 110.
Nonconformity nearest to Celtic Christianity, 21, 196.
Norman Plunderer, The Latin Priest in the track of, 63.
North, Archdeacon,, 142, 143.

O.

Ollivant, Bishop, 215.
Origen, 14.
Origin of the Welsh Church, 11-16.
,, Traditions of, 12-14.
Origins, The History of, 11.
Oswiu, 43.
Owen, Bishop, of St. David's, 74-79, 98, 172, 173, 198, 205, 206.

P.

Paris, Welsh Records in, 56, 71.
Parker, Bishop Davies' letter to Archbishop, 37.
Parochial Clergy, No, in the Celtic Church, 34
Parry, Richard, Dr., 105.
Paul, Tradition of Visit of, 12.
Peter's Pence, 95.

Peckham, Archbishop, 34, 57, 58, 63, 68, 74, 75, 76, 92.
Pelagian Controversy, 17.
Penry, John, 106, 108, 121.
Peniarth MS., 73.
Phillips, Sir Thomas, 107, 132, 139.
Political Era, A new, 195.
Powell, Robert, 121.
Powell, Dr. David, 104.
Powell, Vavasor, 109, 119, 121.
Pratt, Rev. Jermyn, 128, 129, 132.
Preachers, The Great, of Wales, 120.
Prebendaries of St. David's and parish tithes, 162-164.
Precelly Mountain, 123.
Prince of Wales, A new, 79.
Princes, Petition of Welsh Princes, on selection of Giraldus Cambrensis for St. David's, 53.
Pritchard, Rees, 108, 121.
Protestantism, Celtic, 37.
Pryce's "Ancient British Church," 14, 39, 66, 67, 77, 121, 122.
Pugh, Philip, 114, 116, 119.
Pulpit, The Welsh, and Religious Press, 187.

R.

Rabbit "absorbed under strong pressure," 65.
Red Book of Hergest, 51.
Rees, Rice, Prof., "The Welsh Saints," 38.
Reformation, The Story of the, 93-101.
Reformation and Wales, 101.
"Revival, The," in the Church, Bishop Edwards on, 125, 126, 143.
"Revival, The," Bishop Owen on, 179-184, 213, 214.
Revival, The Methodist, 119, 120.
Revival, Methodist, The fore-runners of the, 119.
Rhuddlan Castle, 58, 76.
Rhuddlan, Statute of, 79.
Rhyl Church Congress, Bishop Owen at, 74.
Rhys ab Gruffydd, 61.
Rhys, Sir John, 13, 77, 158.
Ricemarch (Rhygyfarch), Life of David, 24, 36.
Romanus, Clemens, 12, 14.
Rowland, Daniel, 114, 116-118, 120, 121.

S.

Salesbury, William, 105.
Sardica, Council of, 16.
Saunders, Dr. Erasmus, 110.
Schools, The Circulating, 115.
Schoolmasters, Disappearance of former types of, 192.
Sees, Welsh, Stepping Stones to English, 112.
Scandalous Ministers, Report of, 108.
Scandalous Clerical Sinecures, Report of, 136-138.
Seisyllt, 61.
Selborne, Lord, 29-32, 101, 221-225.
Sentiment, The Religious, in Wales, 186.
Sentiment, This Appealed to by Henry II., 187.
Shires, The first six Welsh, 80.
,, The completion of Welsh, 89.
Short, Dr. of St. Asaph, 142, 143.
Sinclair, Archdeacon, on the Welsh Church, 70.
Spelman's Concil. Brit., 20.
Sinecure, Welsh Bishoprics and Livings, 112.
Spoliation in the interests of English Bishoprics, &c., 103, 104.
Statute of Wales, 61.
Stanley, Dean, 42.
Stephens, Thomas, 83.
Stillingfleet's Bp. Orig. Brit., 14, 37.
Stubbs, Dr., Constit. History, 19, 31.
Subjugation of Welsh Church, 66-73.
Submission of the Clergy, Act for, 95.
"Successes," Church, 179-184.
Suetonius Paulinus, 12.
Sulien, Bishop, 36, 37, 47.
Supremacy, The Act of, 99.
Symonds, Richard, 121.
Syston, Vicar of, 117.

T.

"Taffy," 62.
Tal-y-Moelfre, Victory of, 62.
Teilo, Bishop, 38.
Tertullian, Adv. Jud. vii., 14.
Tewkesbury Abbey, 35.
Theodore's Archbishop, Penitentials, 31.
Thiérry, 19, 45.
Thomas, Archdeacon, 24, 48, 54, 70, 77.
Thomas, Oliver, 109.
Tithes, Willis Bund on, 27-31.

Tithes, of Latin Origin, 28, 29.
„ Lord Selborne on, passes by the British Church, 30.
„ H. W. Clarke on, 31, 32.
„ Introduction of English tithes into Wales, 28, 29-33.
Tithes, Nothing about Parochial tithes in the Laws of Ethelbert or Ina, 31, or in the Charters given in the Book of Llandaff, or in the Laws of Hywel Dda, 26-27. Tithes only to the King, 27.
Tithes, abuses in appropriation of Tithes, 161-164, 221.
Tithes, No, in Ancient Celtic Church, 26-33.
Tithes, Bernard introducing Latin Tithes, 33, 34.
Tithes in Wales, distortion of ancient Gwestfa payments into, by Latin Clergy, 29.
Tithes in Wales, Clerical, about £160,000 a year, 29.
Tithes, Statute of, 95.
Toleration, The Act of, 113, 186.
Tomlinson's Law Dictionary, 31.
Tonna, Neath, 175, 176.
Translation, Welsh, of Scriptures, 104. 106.
Triads, The, 12.
Tribal Possessions, alienation difficult, 28.
Tribal System, Endowments of the Celtic Church based on the Celtic, 25.
Tudors, Accession of the, 88, 93.

U.

Uniformity, The First Act of, 102.
Urban, Bishop, 46, 69.
Usher's Archbishop Brit. Eccles. Antiq., 14, 37.

V.

Voluntary gifts, Conversion of, into legal claims, 96.

W.

Wace, Dean, 207.
Walter Henry, 121.
Warren, "Liturgy, &c., of Celtic Church," 14, 15.
Wasserschleben, 31.
Watson, Bishop Richard, 134, 135, 160.
Welsh Clergy, Association of, in Yorkshire, 128, 133.
Welsh Nation, The, untouched by the Church in Wales, 184.
Welsh, Nation, the demand of the, 229.
"Welsh Note," 192.
Welsh, Neglect of, by Church in Wales, 145-152, 184.
Welsh Church, The Modern, defined as 4 dioceses of the Province of Canterbury, 122, 123.
"Western Mail," on the neglect of Welsh by the Church in Wales, 184.
"Western Mail," Reviewer in, 78, 189.
Whitby, Conference at, 43.
White Bard of Brecon, 61.
Whitland, Monastery of, 25.
Wilfrid, Bishop, 69.
Wilfrith, Archbishop, 43, 219.
William, Prince of Orange, 113.
William, the Conqueror, 51.
Williams, Dr. Edward, 120.
Williams, Camber, Canon, and Rev. D. Bankes-Williams, Protest of, against appointing Englishman to Tonna, 175.
Williams, Professor Hugh, 15.
Williams, Judge Vaughan, 72, 77, 211.
Williams, Rev. Moses, 190.
Williams, Watkin, 19, 63, 64.
Williams, William, Pantycelyn, 114, 116,-119, 121.
Williams, William (of Wern), 120, 121.
Wickham, Archdeacon, 142.
Witenagemótes, 31.
Wolsey, Cardinal, 93, 96.
Wroth, William, 109, 119-121.

Z.

Zimmer, Heinrich Dr., 15-16.

REVIEWS OF THE SMALLER WORK ON

"THE ANCIENT CELTIC CHURCH OF WALES."

"A most helpful and interesting volume. . . In this Book the Rev. David Davies reviews the progress of the Celtic Church and its struggle for freedom with much charm and completeness. He gives authorities—mostly from Churchmen—for all that he says, and he is quite ruthless and determined in his exposure. . . Every Free Churchman, and those Churchmen within the Established Church itself desirous to see justice done, would do well to get this book and study it carefully. It is a timely production of great value, and the student anxious to know more will find abundant references that will take him along the paths of the controversy for the last few generations."—*South Wales Daily News.*

"It reveals a lively enthusiasm and considerable insight into the region of ecclesiastical politics. What it most lacks is the calm, detached, and dispassionate spirit of the scientific inquirer. . . It is unconvincing to find passages separated from their context, as in the reference to Dean Hook. . . He expresses himself in trenchant terms, often hitting hard. He subjects the bishops to a raking fire. The Bishop of St. David's, in his chrysalis state, once committed himself to several assertions which cannot bear strict scrutiny; for example, a singular laudation pronounced at a Church Congress, in the presence of English dignitaries, on that time-serving prelate, Peckham. Mr. Davies's comments are perfectly just. So also is his effective analysis of another dictum. "We cannot," quoth the bishop, "induce our opponents to study the early history of the Celtic Church and her initial part in Christianizing England!" The bishop delivers himself into the hands of his critics. . Mr. Davies makes short work of the second statement. The bishop must have read Ecclesiastical history to little purpose, if he supposes that "the British bishops bore a part in Christianizing England." . . We fear that there have been good grounds for some of Mr. Davies's strictures, not only in the past, but in the present day also. . . As a vigorous piece of polemical invective the "Ancient Celtic Church in Wales" will be widely circulated among Nonconformists, and should be read by Churchmen, because it helps them to appreciate the standpoint of their ablest antagonists."—*The Western Mail.*

"I do not remember having read anything on the subject of comparable interest to this since the appearance of "The Celtic Church of Wales" by Mr. J. W. Willis Bund. . . This Book is written in the most charming style, and is beautifully printed and in handy form, and at a remarkably cheap price. There exists gross ignorance on this subject, and Mr. Davies deserves our warmest thanks for his successful effort to remove this darkness."—The Rev. Evan Jones, Carnarvon, ex-President of the Free Church Council, in "*Y Goleuad.*"

"That this Book is eloquent goes without saying; it is clear as a pellucid rivulet, and the thought flashes like running water under the sun's rays. . . Busy as his life has been, Mr. Davies is a diligent and painstaking student, and it is amazing how thoroughly he has mastered his authors. Mr. Davies is an eloquent controversialist, and not a dry historian. . . All may not agree with his conclusions, but all must feel the strength of the Book."—O. M. Edwards, M.A., in "*Cymru.*"

" This new volume is the product of the vivid pen of the Author of " Echoes from the Welsh Hills," and other popular books. Mr. Davies throws a flood of light upon the possessions of the Church and the shameful mis-use of them from time to time. Although this is a historical book, it is exceedingly serviceable to those who would form clear views of Disestablishment and Disendowment."—Dr. Hugh Jones, in " *Eurgrawn.*"

" Mr. Davies's historical outline is excellent, and the authorities quoted are so numerous and influential that it is difficult to see how any one can withstand his statements.—*Y Genedl Gymreig.*

" The Rev. David Davies has done well in publishing a book on the old Church of the Welsh people, and an excellent book it is for many reasons. . . The copy we have seen is in English; but we hope there is a Welsh edition. If the author has not prepared it, he should do so without delay."—*Yr Herald Gymraeg.*

" This is a most timely book. . . Mr. Davies shews with perfect clearness that the Church, disestablished, would be far more like the old Welsh Church than it is as part of the Church of England. We commend most warmly this excellent little book to the notice of our readers. We know of no book so cheap, and having so much light upon the subject as this."—*Baner ac Amserau Cymru.*

" It is occasionally our good fortune to come across a small book which is worth far more than many 'ponderous tomes,' and that is undoubtedly our experience in relation to this well-informed, well-written, compact and forcible narrative of *The Ancient Celtic Church of Wales.* Its 114 pages are packed with the most pertinent facts and arguments. The claim of the Episcopal Church in Wales to represent the Celtic Church is torn to shreds, and it is among the Nonconformists of Wales that the ancient spirit lives. The demand of the Welsh nation for Disestablishment is the natural outcome of its ecclesiastical history, reasonable and inevitable. Mr. Davies' book will help its realisation."—*The Baptist Times and Freeman.*

" English friends of Wales who cannot understand the powerful longing among Welshmen for Welsh Disestablishment should read *The Ancient Celtic Church of Wales*, a red-hot little volume by the Rev. David Davies, of Penarth. All the bitterness of a high-spirited but small nation which has been compelled to see its ancient Church calmly foreignised—in this case Anglicised—before its eyes, comes out in Mr. Davies' brief narrative of the process. The old Welsh Church was one to be proud of; its spirituality was high, and its Bishops were home-grown and democratically chosen. They owed allegiance neither to Pope nor Archbishop. For many centuries, however, this democratic Church has existed only in name, and Mr. Davies dwells satirically on the sham nationalism of the present-day Welsh Bishops. His conclusion is that the true representatives of the ancient Celtic Church are the modern Nonconformists."—*The Christian World.*

Other appreciative reviews have appeared in the leading Welsh papers.

A.

THE MASTER'S COLLEGE
3 3540 00025 3629